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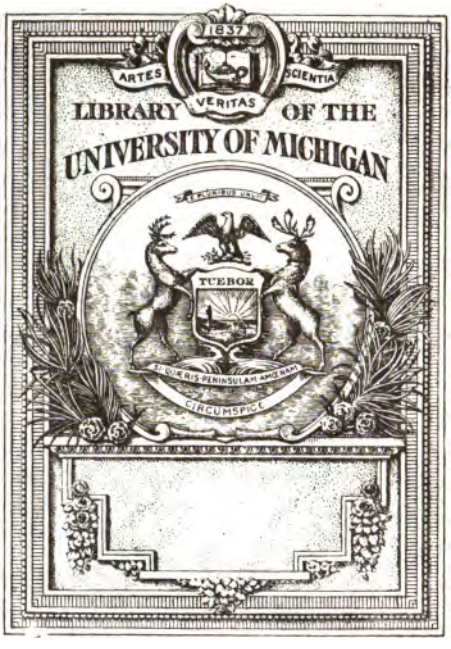

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UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

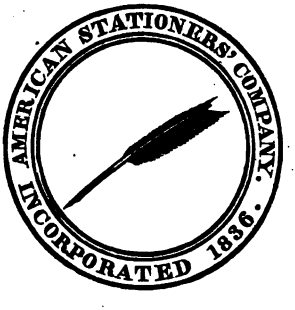
OF

JOHN VON MÜLLER.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY OF THE BOSTON SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.



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J. B. RUSSELL.
1837.

PREFACE

BY THE ENGLISH TRANSLATOR.

THE Author of the Work, of which this and the two succeeding Volumes contain a translation, long maintained the most distinguished rank among the learned men of the most learned nation in Europe. He was chiefly known, during his life, as the eloquent historian of his native country, the Cantons of Switzerland. His Universal History, which seems to have been his favorite object, and the pursuit to which he devoted his hours of leisure from public business during a great portion of his life, was published subsequently to the Author's death, by his brother, who survived him.

If the Translator were to attempt to estimate the merits of the Author, whose works he is about to lay before his countrymen in their own idiom, he might probably incur a suspicion of partiality. He therefore abstains from expressing any opinion of his own respecting the literary character of Müller, or the value of his productions. But as the reputation of this writer is not as yet generally known in England, the Translator thinks himself permitted to cite the following remarks from a work of the late Madame de Stäel, which will serve to express the sentiment generally

entertained respecting this Author, by those who were best acquainted with his attainments.

"Müller, the most learned of historians," says this celebrated writer, "is truly poetical in his manner of describing both men and transactions. In order justly to appreciate the merits of the historian of Switzerland, we must distinguish in his work, the man of profound learning and the able writer. He possessed a mass of erudition altogether unparalleled: his acquirements of this kind actually inspired awe in those who witnessed their display. It is difficult to conceive how the head of one man could contain a whole world of occurrences and dates. The six thousand years of authentic history were perfectly arranged in his memory; and his studies had been so accurate, that his impressions remained as vivid as if he had been a living witness of the events. Switzerland does not contain a village or a noble family, whose history was not perfectly familiar to him. On one occasion he was requested, in order to decide a wager, to repeat the pedigree of the sovereign counts of Bugey: he performed the task immediately, but was not quite certain whether one individual of the series had been a regent or a sovereign in his own right; and he seriously reproached himself for this defect of memory.

"Müller, who may be considered as the classical historian of Germany, constantly read both the Greek and Latin authors in their original languages: he cultivated literature and the fine arts, as subservient to history. His unbounded erudition, far from diminishing his natural vivacity, was rather the ground from which his imagination took its flight;

and the striking accuracy of his pictures was the result of the scrupulous fidelity with which they were drawn."

The following work was published in the German language at Tubingen, in the year 1811. To this edition are prefixed a long Preface by the Editor; another by the Author, dated Vienna, 1797; and a Fragment of a later Preface, which, as the Editor informs us in a note, was written in the year 1806; at which time the Author was occupied in preparing his work for the press. The Author's Preface, which was written many years before its publication, was evidently adapted to the work, when it was in an earlier and more incomplete state of preparation.

These materials are in so detached and undigested a form, that the Translator has not deemed it expedient to present the whole of them to his English readers. He has selected the following passages from the Author's original Preface, which contain an account of his design in undertaking to compile this work, and of the first stages of his progress in the execution of his plan:—

"This book was written some years before those great political explosions, which to some persons appear to promise, and to others threaten, a new order of things. The original object of the Author, in this undertaking, was to lay before his pupils, (consisting of a number of young men from various nations, and from different quarters of the globe,) who were already well versed in the details of history, his own conception of its genius or spirit. The imperfect manner in which he has executed his design, is in part owing to the circumstance to which his other works are indebted for whatever share of confidence they may be found to merit: it has arisen from the custom which he

has invariably observed, of extracting his materials from such works only, as deserve to be ranked among the *sources of historical information.* This has appeared to him to be the only way of acquiring that accurate acquaintance with all nations and all ages, which is indispensable for those who design faithfully to describe them. But the sources of *universal* history are so numerous, that a whole life, exclusively devoted to such researches, scarcely suffices for the study of them all. Besides, at the conclusion of the most attentive and successful investigation, the work would be only half performed, unless the student had lived in a certain degree of intimacy with the different classes of men, and had acquired some acquaintance with the great springs of human action: for although the events of history are recorded in books, the key is only to be found in the hearts of men and in the course of public affairs. The Author of the following books passed a large portion of his younger life in the enjoyments of social intercourse, and amidst the agitation of the passions: his more mature age has been engaged in public business, during some remarkable conjunctures in political affairs: in the meanwhile he has not neglected to study the sources of history, as far as time and circumstances have permitted him to follow his favorite pursuit. The present work was first undertaken during the early part of the Author's life, at a period when he was so situated as to be unable fully to avail himself of the voluminous materials which he had already collected; and hence it contained little more than a sketch of the impressions produced by a rapid survey of the ancient authors, and modified by those received from his intercourse with the living world. The work thus produced was ne-

cessarily of a peculiar description: it could not fail to reflect the characteristic qualities of the Author's mind; his hatred of every species of injustice and oppression; his love of industry, freedom, and the laws; his lenity in the judgment of human frailties, and admiration of distinguished talents and courage when combined with humanity. On the other hand, the execution was necessarily unequal in the different parts, and tolerably complete and accurate only in those chapters, the subjects of which had been investigated at the source. Thus, though comprising many new and original facts, it was probably sometimes wanting in the most notorious circumstances, such as could not have escaped the Author, had he paid less attention to the labors of original historians, and confined his researches to the compilations of universal history.

"However this may have been, the sentiments with which he was animated communicated themselves to his audience, which consisted for the most part of learned and accomplished men: and when he afterwards found opportunities of reading some portions of his book in the presence of persons of different classes, (among whom were men of extraordinary talents, holding important offices, and some of the most distinguished French and German authors,) he had the good fortune to obtain their approbation. But while his work was continually receiving improvement in consequence of his increasing knowledge of the world, and while he was industriously employed in collecting materials from eight or nine hundred important sources of original information, his time and attention were so occupied, as to prevent him from connecting and arranging his manuscripts for the completion of his book. He was therefore obliged

to postpone this undertaking, which he considers as the favorite occupation and one of the principal objects of his life, to that earnestly wished for period, when he shall be able to withdraw from public business, and to devote the remainder of his days to his literary pursuits and the society of his friends."

The Author afterwards proceeds to mention, in a manner somewhat prolix, the motives which induced him to hasten the accomplishment of his task, and the reduction of his work into the form it had attained in 1797.

During the years which intervened between this period and the last correction of the work, a short time before the Author's death, in order to its publication, he was not idle or inattentive to the further prosecution of his favorite design. The Editor has given us the following account of his occupations and his progress during this interval:—

"It was the intention of J. Von Müller, after having completed the history of his native country, to publish the Survey of Universal History which is contained in these three volumes, and to follow it with another book under the title of Historical Library, comprising the proofs drawn from original sources, which serve as the foundation of the present work, together with a number of critical investigations relating to a variety of historical questions. His labors in these undertakings occupied a space of thirty years; and he extended his researches to the works of many ancient authors who are not strictly to be called historians, such as poets, theologians and philosophers, in order to obtain 'a competent idea of the political, domestic and literary character of the different nations and ages of the world.'

"The foundation of his 'Universal History' consists of historical extracts from the writings of one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three authors of ancient and modern times, begun about the year 1772, and continued to the tenth day before the author's death. These are entitled, Rerum Humanarum libri triginta; for in these papers the history of the world is distributed into thirty books, and the extracts arranged in an equal number of divisions." These materials are all written in the German language, but with such abbreviations, that it requires a competent knowledge of history, and of the original works, to be able to read them accurately and readily.

In the following passage of the Author's Preface, he has given his reasons for not continuing his work down to a more recent period, and for suffering it to retain those political impressions, which seem to have been produced by an anticipation of the French Revolution, or of some approaching convulsion in the frame of European society.

"The Author has resolved not to continue this history; because he is desirous of observing a profound silence with regard to the transactions of those years during which he has himself been engaged in public affairs. The great political experiments of the Emperor Joseph the Second, and of the confederate princes of the German empire, are so related to his personal situation, that he cannot, without imprudence, express a candid and impartial opinion respecting their nature and effects: and to speak of them in any other manner would be a profanation of his character as an historian and a man. The cause of truth and of good order, wherever he meets with it, will always be his own;

of which he intends to display satisfactory proofs in the execution of the following work."

There are some peculiar traits in the manner and execution of this work, which will probably strike the reader as singular and as requiring explanation. They have arisen in part from the mode in which the book was composed, the foundation of it having consisted of a large collection of extracts from the works of original writers; and in part from the conception which the Author appears to have entertained of the duty and office of an historian. Through the whole course of his work he has designedly maintained a kind of philosophical elevation above all those modes of thinking and feeling which are peculiar to certain ages, nations, and sects. He has endeavored to survey human affairs with the same impartiality or indifference with which a being, descended from another sphere, might be supposed to contemplate the diversified habits and opinions of men. In some passages indeed, as in the history of the Mohammedan nations, where it was necessary to enter into the feelings of the people in order to understand the true nature of transactions, the Author has expressed himself in the language of the sect, and seems to have surveyed their actions through the medium of their own sentiments; but this he has done indifferently and without partiality. This habit, which may be traced through the whole of his book, accounts for the reserved and abstracted manner in which the Author treats of the history of the different systems of religion. He seems to have considered the particular proofs or refutation of each as subjects belonging to the theologian rather than to the writer of history. Hence he

avoids all discussion of their respective claims to a miraculous or supernatural origin; all inquiry into the truth or falsehood of particular doctrines. He confines himself to an external survey of the rise and progress of each system of tenets; he traces the public proceedings of its votaries, and the influence exercised by it on the condition of nations. In fact, the active occupations of the Author's life seem to have given a peculiar stamp to his habits of thinking and writing. Accordingly he surveys the origin and growth of the Christian religion with the eyes of a politician, and describes it rather as a phænomenon influential on the condition of human society in this world, than in relation to the more important and eternal interests of mankind. What his own particular sentiments were he has not fully declared: yet he has said enough to manifest that he was not an unbeliever in revelation.

Whatever opinion may be formed respecting the motives of the Author in assuming so reserved and sometimes apparently undecided a tone on these subjects, it will not be denied that the way in which he has contemplated the history of religion, without entering into its peculiar proofs, may yet, when pursued by an equitable and candid historian, a title which will not be refused to Müller, redound to the advantage of Christianity. That doctrine which is shown to be alone compatible with a high degree of virtue and social happiness on earth, has at least a very strong presumption in favor of its truth and divine origin.

In order to form a just estimate of the execution and general merits of this work, it is necessary to bear in mind the object which the Author had mainly in view in its composition. This was not the bare chronicling of events,

or tracing the details of each particular story in the annals of mankind: it was rather to take a survey of the course or tide of human affairs—to observe the ebbings and flowings of national prosperity, of social culture, of public liberty and happiness—to furnish us with distinct but rapid glances at those great influential causes, which have contributed to stamp on every age its peculiar character—to mark down those prominent points in the chart of time which have directed the winding stream of history. Accordingly, particular facts, and even the order and connection of events, are only regarded as of secondary importance. At the same time, circumstantial accuracy is maintained in the narrative, as far as this is compatible with the more profound system of the writer: and the work is widely distinguished from that species of meagre abstraction, which has been termed the philosophy of history.

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INTRODUCTION.

SECTION I.

Between the earliest epoch to which the Mosaic records refer, and the promulgation of the Hebrew law, which comprises the most ancient history that has reached our times, and is confirmed by accounts that may be regarded as nearly contemporary, a space of 4114 years intervened, and from the latter era to the French Revolution, another of 3400.

This latter interval may be divided in the following manner. One thousand years passed from the time of Moses to that of Nebuchadnezzar; a somewhat longer period begins with that conqueror, and, comprehending the history of the Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman monarchies, terminates with the sole reign of the great Theodosius, the last sovereign of the entire Roman empire; immediately after whose time the ancient throne of the Cesars shock under the reiterated attacks of the Barbarians, and fell, after having stood five hundred years. The third thousand years comprise the period of the struggle between monarchy and the ancient spirit of northern freedom, and between spiritual and temporal power, and end at the time when the Swiss delivered the king of France from the last opponents of his internal sway by their achievements in the Burgundian war. From that time forwards, during 300 years, wars were chiefly carried on between crowned heads, until the American Revolution occasioned the seeds of a political change to be developed, which had long been secretly cherished in the bosom of the European nations.

For nine hundred years after the first victory by which Alaric had shaken the ancient empire, citizens were first admitted into the States-General of France, which, like

most other States, had been composed exclusively of the nobles, either under the authority of the king or in conjunction with him. Six years afterwards, three individuals in a field of the Alpine mountains laid the foundation of the constitution of Switzerland, which for a long time was the only considerable democracy. Seventy times seven years elapsed, and when this period was fulfilled, the citizens of France overthrew the king and the nobility, and six years later the Swiss confederacy reached the hour of its dissolution or of its renovation.

We have drawn the outline of the history of the human race from the origin of authentic record to the treaty of Paris, which concluded the American war, and this outline we design to fill up as leisure and opportunity permit, and to comprise the whole work in twenty-four books. Several considerations have induced us thus to trace the causes which have influenced the destinies of mankind, and which have given rise to the present state of human affairs. In the first place, a desire to turn the minds of men from a belief in a capricious and malignant fatality, to the useful contemplation of those influences which proceed from themselves, and which they have it in their power to modify. Secondly, to lead them from the vain expectation of occurrences, which either will never happen, or will in a greater or less degree disappoint the hopes which are entertained of their effects, to feel the necessity of fundamental reformations of other kinds. Thirdly, if great communities should be found destitute of the power or will to effect such changes, we are desirous to lay before smaller states, such as that of Switzerland, or before single families, which are the origin and end of all social institutions, a few principles which may serve to direct their way amid the gloom of the political storm: Fourthly, we would prevent the occurrences which are at this time following each other as in a tumult, from leading our youth to suppose that success depends merely on the boldness of those who have gained possession of authority, and on the physical power of which they have the direction, rather than on the folly and weakness of those who have forgotten their own rights: And lastly, if it be permitted to an author to

speak of himself, since the affecting spectacle of Europe sinking to destruction,* renders it impossible for him to hold his peace, and since his situation is such that it would be either dangerous or useless for him to raise his voice; he resolved, as we take consolation in imparting our sorrows to a faithful friend, to hold converse with the good and great of his own and of future ages, concerning affairs which will not fail to excite the sympathy of men as long as their race continues to exist.

The fire which is consuming the political fabrics of Europe has sprung from the neglected state of their internal constitutions. Not only the visible pillars of the building have been rent by the power of the flames, but even the oldest foundations have fallen in ruin. All the powers of defence have been as ineffectual as water against the Grecian fire; or by their unserviceable nature, or the perverse manner of their application, have rather given to the destroying element new fuel, or have opened to it a more extensive scene of action. Thus the noblest and most mighty structures, which during a thousand years, or a still longer period, had defied the storms and earthquakes and the wasting hand of time, and seemed formed to endure for ever, have crumbled away; and those edifices which yet remain are filled with the elements of combustion, and threaten to explode at the first breath of the wind in one general conflagration.

We design in the first place to consider constitutions in themselves; to examine then into the state of their foundations; to inquire afterwards what resources may be expected to be derived from a general combination in aid of powers individually weakened, and to comprise the whole results in certain general conclusions, which may excite our just regrets, and give salutary warnings, or afford prospects of brighter scenes in the future time.

---

* This was probably written during the French Revolution, or at the time when Napoleon Bonaparte threatened to extend his empire over the whole of Europe. *E.*

SECTION II.

EUROPE.

The continents which are inhabited by the human race were raised in the course of unnumbered ages by certain movements of the primeval waters, and by the influence of foreign worlds, the laws of which are scarcely imaginable, from the fertilizing bosom of the ancient ocean.* Where the primitive rock on which every thing rests, had those elevations which we name mountains, high levels were formed around their sides, and living nature was there enabled to increase and develope itself. This happened in Europe later than on the hills of Asia, and last of all in America. For around Ural, Altai, and Boghdo, a vast tract of elevated land reaches northward and southward to the sea: our Alps on the contrary break off too abruptly on their southern descent into that hollow which is partly filled by the waters of the Mediterranean, and on their northern side nature had a long struggle to maintain, while the basins of high mountain-lakes, broken from time to time by various convulsions, poured their impetuous torrents over the declivities, and frequently changed the lowlands as far as the ocean into an insecure morass. Accordingly the noblest plants and animals, and man their lord, natives of the healthful heights and of the beautiful valleys of those mountains in the midst of Asia, came, driven by later exigencies, as foreigners into Europe. Many adventurers followed their flocks, some the chase, others were impelled by the desire of independence, while through the love of tranquil enjoyment the more patient East submitted herself at an early period to the dominion of a few.

The Alpine range, whose hoary tops adorn our Switzerland and the neighbouring Savoy; which sends forth the Rhine to the ocean, and the Danube to the Black Sea,

* That all our continents and islands were formerly covered by the ocean, all naturalists are ready to acknowledge; but it has puzzled them very much to assign an adequate cause for the subsequent elevation of the land above the surface of the waters. I fear, however, that the author's speculation will not be allowed to stand on a firmer foundation than the reveries of some other geologists. *T.*

is continued on one side by the Cevennes and Pyrenees, on the other by Mount Hæmus and the Carpathian chain, and stands like a boundary wall between the north and south. On the Appenines, which we may call its right arm, Italy has been formed; the left, running from Jura through the Ardennes, gave support to the interior country, and protected its recent vegetation from the incursions of the northern sea. The European mountain-chain sends forth many branches; the waters have formed secondary ranges at its feet. Separate groups without number attest in some places the regular agencies of nature, and in others betray particular operations of the elements.

It would be fruitless to follow with eager curiosity the stages of ever-progressive nature. While the hollows of ancient lakes laid dry,* and the bed of the retiring ocean, were gradually formed into abodes well fitted for the dwelling of many separate and independent nations, the activity of the human race chiefly displayed itself on the two seas which to the South and North either originally extended or have since opened themselves a way far into the interior: these inlets afforded to the people of Europe a medium of intercourse, and a field for enterprise which were wanting to the extensive regions of Asia and Africa. It is

* Many of the most fertile valleys and plains in the world appear to be the bottoms of ancient lakes laid dry, an exit having been opened by some convulsion of nature, or perhaps, in some instances, by more gradual operations, for the waters that were previously enclosed by impenetrable barriers. The whole of Thessaly was said, as Herodotus informs us, to have been for many ages a lake, till Ossa and Olympus were separated by some sudden catastrophe, and the Peneus found its way through the newly-formed vale of Tempe. (See Dr. Holland's Travels, and Beloe's Notes to Herodotus. Polymnia, 129.)—Very many extensive districts in Europe appear to have been the theatres of similar revolutions, and most of the great rivers were formerly mere successions of lakes, like the river St. Lawrence in North America. (See the Notes to Professor Playfair's admirable Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory.) M. Volney informs us, that the level spaces between the Alleghany mountains and other parallel chains appear to have been inland lakes, until the rivers which descend from these heights formed for themselves exits. In ascending the course of the Potomac the traveller finds, after passing each ridge by the section formed by the river, a new plain higher than the preceding one. Many of these valleys contain independent coal formations. (See Volney's Account of North America.) *T.*

evident that from both these causes the European continent was better adapted for the habitation of free and enterprising nations.

All strength is physical or moral. The latter gained the advantage in the south, the former towards the north; but the whole earth is the inheritance of man; and custom inured even the southern people to all climates and seasons, while culture has been able to open the genius of the northern barbarian to the discovery of arts.

Corporeal strength is the endowment of nature; the cultivation of the mind is called forth by ideas, and traditions handed down, the production of those long-forgotten ages which have elapsed since the Author of our existence breathed into our inert mass the breath of life.

Traditional knowledge, the germ of all humanity, wisdom, and learning, proceeds from the mountains of the primitive world. In the north, on account of the hard struggle which man had to sustain against the sterility of nature, nothing was preserved by writing; much perished in oblivion, or remained undeveloped. In the southern regions, knowledge was preserved and disseminated at an early period by the art of writing, so that the Chinese, Indians, Persians, Babylonians, Phenicians, Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks, and Etruscans, brought with them into their respective countries, the inheritance of certain principles, which have been embellished or deformed in various ways, wherever tranquil contemplation, or luxuriant fancy, or politic design, or a life passed on fertile plains which afforded an easy agriculture, or on smiling pastures, or amid the tumults of war, or among popular assemblies; led their philosophers into various habits of thought, and gave them a predilection for different representations. Meanwhile the son of the north, who found in nature the harshness of a stepmother, obtained in his forests and morasses only what was most necessary to support existence.

For the rest, we must look both for the northern and southern theatre of active and refined civilization under that temperate zone, beyond the limits of which excessive cold or heat subjugate the energy of our nature. Under the rigor of the one or the vehemence of the other, cul-

ture cannot well be introduced, or it will hardly be maintained in active influence. Most of the European countries are happily situated, especially where the vicinity of the sea improves the temperature of the air. Accordingly the Europeans, who received all the arts from others, have carried them to greater perfection, chiefly because the North of Europe has many advantages over the North of Asia. Hence we may conjecture, that this portion of the globe is destined to perfect the results of all the labors of humanity, and to rule over the other regions, or rather to renew their population.

Those necessities which the indolence of man seeks the readiest means of satisfying, but chiefly the passions, whose variety and insatiable nature distinguish the human being from the brute animals, have given occasion to wars, ever unjust, except on the side of defence, which are like terrible but salubrious tempests; they have taken their origin for the most part in defective laws; they have roused the powers of the human mind, which were slumbering in effeminacy, and have led to the establishment of new systems of society. They are the fearful teachers of that eternal truth, that riches, science, culture, all the gifts of birth or of fortune, are vain, while man, in proud or luxurious sloth, forgets to maintain the dignity of his nature. Civilized nations then become the spoil of wild barbarians, when they relax the exertions of mind, to which wherever it is manifested all things are subservient. On those who display the greatest moral and intellectual vigor, Victory bestows her laurels. It was through these means that the world became subject to one city, from the hall of Fingal to the ruins of Babylon; it was thus that Islamism, in the course of eighty years, became the faith and law of nations from the Ganges to the Ebro; it was thus that an insular people, with one mighty arm oppressing the Indus, and with another threatening Peru, have erected, on the most instable element, an empire that can only be destroyed by themselves. These are not the endowments of the south or north, of the land, or of the sea: together with genius and courage, they are acquired and lost. He who is victorious has himself to fear, and he who is unfortunate has none other

to reproach. It is by this principle that Europe, a region of small extent, is enabled to hold in her hand the destiny of the world.

Hence arises the inference, that those habits of society and that mode of government are best adapted to the acquiring and preserving the most desirable objects of human life, by which the moral powers are developed and maintained in the highest possible degree. In this point of view we propose to contemplate the forms of government which have hitherto existed in Europe

SECTION III.

POLITICAL CONSTITUTIONS.

All parts of the universe hold a mutual relation to each other; and in the whole empire of finite nature, nothing exists for itself alone. The universe stands in such a relation to its first cause, that it could not subsist a moment by itself. It belongs to us to study the mutual relations of beings, which are not our works, but the productions of Nature; and the result of this study constitutes our *law*. The knowledge of this informs us, how we may be able to turn every thing which exists to our advantage. In nothing indeed is man more distinguished from the brutes, than in the faculty of acquiring this knowledge; he possesses no other claim to the dominion of the world, but by his superior intellect alone he holds it in subjection. Moreover, as man alone is endowed with the power of elevating himself to communion with the Author of all things, he stands, with respect to all subordinate beings, in the situation of those, (if we may venture to use the expression) who in monarchical governments have the exclusive privilege of entering into the presence of the sovereign.

The *Law of Nature* is the result of our relations to the visible world, and especially to all beings endowed with feeling. The generality of men have comprehended indeed under this term, (fancying that they are under no obligations of duty, except towards their equals,) only that

which, after abstracting all personal and local connexions, every man owes to his fellow-creatures; but this part of the natural law does not embrace its whole extent, although it is obviously the most interesting to us.

Since all men possess not the faculties and industry needful for sifting to the bottom these first principles, and since it cannot be expected, from the violence of human passions, that among the various points of view in which each affair may be contemplated, men will always adopt the most generally beneficial result, as the rule of their conduct, positive regulations were required, in order to support the natural law with a sufficient power, and from time to time with effective measures, against the encroachments of ignorance and self-interest. An endless variety of circumstances soon diversified these regulations, and greatly multiplied them, by giving rise to an infinite diversity of relations. Moreover violent changes took place, which quickly gave to human society a new form, different from its primitive and simple state, and from the spirit and design of its first institutions: this was a source of more complex relations, which required new prescripts.

The increasing number of these obtained, according to the objects with which they were conversant, the designation of civil, political, public, and ecclesiastical law. The minutest affairs were regulated by positive laws, since human passions extend to all, and require in every conjuncture a prescript and distinct limitation. Yet the innumerable multitude of ordinances are capable of being reduced to a few general principles; it is only necessary to point out the particular applications, in order to confute the sophistry of those who will not embrace the universal scheme.

In some instances the laws have either been proposed, or at least ratified, in popular assemblies; in others, the nation has submitted silently to the commands which one or more individuals, who by virtue or power have raised themselves to be rulers or lords, have issued under the character of representatives, or protectors of the people. One man or a body of men have also administered the executive power. The variations thus produced, constitute great diversities in the forms of government.

Monarchy, is that government in which a single person rules, but is subject to limitations by the laws, over which a middle power presides, and watches for their conservation. The authority of the latter may flow from the splendor of a long succession of dignified ancestors, or from their destination to the defence of their country, or from their qualifications as possessors of land; they are termed accordingly the nobles, the patrician order, or the parliament. In other instances, superior knowledge in divine and human affairs imparts the privilege, as among the ancient Gauls to the Druids, and for a long period to the tribe of Levi among the Hebrews. *Despotism*, which knows no law, but the arbitrary will of one man, is a corruption or disorganization of monarchy.

Aristocracy, is the government of ancient families, and of those who are chosen by them into the senate. This assembly either consists, as at Venice, of the whole body to whom their birth-right gives a share in the government, or it is a select number chosen out of them, as at Berne. One branch of this form of administration is *Timocracy*, or that constitution, in which the laws define a certain property, the possessors of which, alone, are capable of holding offices. This system, and aristocracy in general, degenerate into *Oligarchy*, that is, into a form of government in which the chief power, by the laws, or by descent, or accident, is confined to a very small number of men. *Democracy* denotes, according to the old signification of the word, that system of government, in which all the citizens, assembled, partake in the supreme power. When all the landholders, though not citizens, join with the latter in the exercise of their high privileges, *Ochlocracy* prevails. This name is also given to that condition of the democratic form, in which, in consequence of bad laws or of violent commotions, the power which properly belonged to the people, has been transferred to the populace.

The best form of government is that which, avoiding the above-mentioned excesses, combines the decisive vigor of monarchy with the mature wisdom of a senate, and with the animating impression of democracy. But it is rarely that circumstances allow, rarely that the sagacity of a law-

giver has conferred on his nation this good fortune; and when it has happened to be obtained, violence and intrigue have seldom conceded to it a long duration in a state of purity. Sparta, Rome, and some later republics, but particularly England, have sought more or less to attain this ideal standard of perfection, but governments of the simple form have always been more numerous and more permanent.*

At the same time, it very seldom happens, that we find a form of government wholly unmixed. Religion and prevailing opinions impose salutary restraints upon despotism: in monarchies, it is not easy for the ruler, without one of these resources, to govern the nobles according to his wishes. An aristocracy is generally indulgent to the people: it sometimes allows them a participation in the most important conclusions, as at Lucerne; or in the election to certain high offices of state, as at Freyburg: in like manner democratic governments are, for the most part, held in check by the influence of a perpetual council, which prepares affairs for the deliberation of the popular assembly.

By far the most common form of government is the oligarchical. How can the sovereign exercise his power, let him be as anxious as he may to govern for himself, without confiding on many occasions in the information and proposals of his ministers? A few party-leaders govern the senate and the popular assembly. The ablest, the most eloquent, or the richest, will every where take the lead.

The essential difference between the forms of government consists in the various pursuits to which a man must direct his endeavors in order to become powerful in each. Another important consideration relates to the greater or more limited sphere in which the ruler can exert his arbitrary will.

With respect to the former circumstance, there are scarcely any governments in which the ambition of men is

* This history being brought down only to the close of the American war, the author appears not to have made the constitution and political institutions of the United States the subject of his particular attention. A great part of the work was written before the date above mentioned. This may account for our system of government not being here particularly alluded to. *E.*

directed altogether as it ought to be; under a wise prince, those obtain power who deserve it; under a sovereign of an opposite character, those are successful who possess the greatest skill in the arts of a court. Family influence decides for the most part in aristocracies. With the multitude, eloquence and corruption often obtain the victory over real merit.

The natural desire of self-preservation does not prevent the abuse of power; human passions, full of resources, provide for all contingencies: kings have surrounded themselves with standing armies, against whose accurate tactics, when no conjuncture of circumstances rouses whole nations to the contest, nothing can prevail. The party-leaders know how to put their private wishes into the mouths of the people, and thus to avoid all responsibility; moreover the depraved crowd who receive bribes, and do any thing for the permission of licentiousness, would sufficiently protect them. An aristocracy is extremely vigilant over the first and scarcely discernible movements: it leaves every thing else to its fate, and is willing to impede even the prosperity of a multitude which is formidable to it.

With all this, it appears wonderful, that the forms of human society could be maintained in the midst of such various corruptions. But the greater number of men are neither firmly bent on good nor on evil. There are few who pursue only one of the two, and that one with all their might; and these moreover must be favored by circumstances in order to carry their endeavors into effect. Certain attempts are only practicable in particular times, and this forms the distinguishing character of ages, the regulation of which depends on a higher power.

It is fortunate that even imperfect modes of government have always a certain tendency to order; their founders have surrounded them with a multitude of forms, which always serve as a barrier against great calamities, and which impart to the course of affairs a certain regularity for which the multitude acquire a sort of veneration. The more forms there are, the fewer commotions happen. So great is their authority, that the conquerors of Rome and of China have been obliged to adopt the laws of the conquered countries.

Herein consist also the advantages of the oriental and other ancient lawgivers: they considered as much the nature of men, as the circumstances of their particular subjects; our laws, for the most past, only concern themselves with public affairs. That simplicity of manners, temperance, industry, constancy, those military virtues, which among us each individual must enjoin to himself, became among the ancients matter of prescriptive obligation.

In fact, it is only through the influence of manners that society can be maintained: the laws may form them, but men must give assistance to the laws by their own endeavors. Every thing will go well when men shall declaim less on their share in the supreme power, and each individual shall seek to acquire so much the more authority over himself. Let every one aim at attaining a correct estimate of things; for by this means his desires will be very much moderated. Let alterations in the forms of government be left to the operation of time, which gives to every people the constitution of which it is susceptible at each particular period, and a different one when it becomes mature for the change.

I propose in the following discourses to describe the origin, growth, and alteration of many forms of government, and the fate of nations. Nothing will contribute more to afford that true estimate, which is so highly necessary, of the present condition of the European states, than a correct view of their establishment and original spirit. We shall come at length to a multitude of treaties, which, during the last century and a half, have been concluded by the most sagacious statesmen, and again annihilated by the greatest generals: we shall moreover witness the consequences which have arisen to the prince and people, and the dangerous situation into which all states are thus brought. Examples for imitation and warning, great weaknesses and urgent necessities, conjunctures which call for temperance, and such as require a diligent investigation, will often occur to us, and will suffer us, for the future, to be led into fewer illusions by a specious exterior and finely sounding words.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

BOOK I.

FROM THE ORIGIN OF THE HUMAN RACE TO THE AGE OF THE TROJAN WAR.

SECTION I.

OF THE PRIMITIVE CONDITION OF MANKIND.

Two very opposite opinions prevail with respect to the primitive condition of the human race. Some traditions begin with a golden age of innocence and happiness; others with a state of original barbarism and wild disorder.* Thus according to one representation our species has continually become more debased in every succeeding age; according to the other it has gradually attained perfection

* The former of these representations prevails through the fragments of remote antiquity preserved among various nations, and through all the religious traditions of the ancient world. It is found not only in the Scriptures or inspired writings of the Jews and Christians, but in the books esteemed sacred by various oriental nations, as the Chinese, Indians, Persians, Babylonians, and Egyptians. In the Skuking and other fragments of Chinese history, and in the Ramayan of the Indian Valmic, pictures are drawn of the happiness and virtue of the first men, which resemble the fiction of the golden age so celebrated in the mythology of Greece and Rome. Plato says that his countrymen derived all their knowledge of divine things from the ancients, who, as he affirms, "were wiser and lived nearer to the gods than we." The Egyptians began their history with dynasties of gods and heroes, who were said to have assumed human form (ἀνθρωποειδὲς γεγονεναι) and to have dwelt among men, and to have communicated all arts and sciences to the Egyptian priests. The golden age of the Hindoos, and their numerous avatars of the gods, are fictions of a similar character, as well as their two royal dynasties descended from the sun and moon, with which we find a remarkable coincidence in the traditions of Peru.

Such is the common sentiment of antiquity, while far different representations are given by many philosophers and poets. An example may be found in Lucretius, Lib. v. Volgivago vitam tracta bant more ferarum, &c.

by many new acquirements. If we believe the former, man lived in immortal youth until a vain curiosity incited him to follow the deceitful allurements of passion against the voice of his inward feelings of moral duty, to sacrifice his happiness to the serpent wiles of insinuating pleasure, or to appropriate to himself that fire with which the benevolent Father of gods and men designed to animate and enlighten him in every case of need. Others on the contrary relate, that man was formed by the slow labors of Nature out of the mud of the earth, and produced at length in his present shape, but attained not until after many generations to that vigor and beauty in which he excels all other animals. There is truth in both these representations; the first of men were innocent and virtuous; but those were frail and corrupt who first submitted themselves to the restraints and ordinances of society.

It is indeed a striking fact, that the most ancient people, in all other matters wholly uncultivated, had faithful representations and correct ideas of the Deity, of the world, of a future state, and even of the motions of the heavenly bodies; while the arts which relate to the conveniences of life are of far more recent date. In matters of the highest import the eldest of mankind were wise; in the affairs of human life they were children. A remembrance of these primitive ideas was preserved afterwards among most nations, but darkened, deformed, and misunderstood: even astronomical computations were carried on mechanically, without knowledge of the principles.

Would it not appear that our soul, that particle of the Divine Spirit that dwells within us, had derived from the immediate instruction of a higher nature, and preserved for a time, certain indispensable faculties and ideas, to which it could not have attained alone? On the other hand, all that appertained to the use of material objects was left for the exercise of human ingenuity.* Those pure ideas of the patriarchs became afterwards obscured among most of the races of men by the lapse of time, and through the toilsome labor of cultivating a desert earth: hence necessity stimulated them to the discovery of various arts.

* "Ut varias usus meditando extunderet artes."

SECTION II.

OF THE PRIMITIVE ABODE OF MANKIND.

There seems to be no better way of inquiring where was the cradle of the human race, than to seek where bread corn, that universal food of those who have ever possessed it, was indigenous, and where the domestic animals which from times of yore have dwelt with men, had their native seat. We are at liberty to suppose that those who first wandered forth brought with them their wonted sustenance and these companions of their domestic life. Theophrastus observed that barley grows wild in the high lands behind the Caspian Sea. A pupil of Linnæus found grain growing wild in Bashkiria. On the mountains of Cashmire, in Thibet, and in the north of China, it certainly grows many years without sowing or tillage. On the same mountains our household animals run wild. Great rivers burst forth from their sides: the Hoangho or Yellow River leads to China; the Ganges and the Indus to India.*

* Adelung has adopted this opinion respecting the original seat of the human species, and has mentioned a variety of considerations in support of it. He observes, that the central plain of Asia, being the highest region in the globe, must have been the first to emerge from the universal ocean, and therefore first became capable of affording a habitable dwelling to terrestrial animals and to the human species; hence, as the subsiding waters gradually gave up the lower regions to be the abode of life, they may have descended, and spread themselves progressively over their new acquisitions. The desert of Kobi, which is the summit of the central steppe, is the most elevated ridge in the globe. From its vicinity the great rivers of Asia take their rise and flow towards the four cardinal points. The Selinga, the Ob, the Irtish, the Lena, and the Jenisey, send their waters to the Frozen Ocean; the Jaik flows towards the setting sun; the Amur and Hoangho, and the Indus, Ganges, and Burampooter, towards the east and south. On the declivities of these high lands are the plains of Thibet, lower than the frozen region of Kobi, where many fertile tracts are well fitted to become the early seat of animated nature. Here are found not only the vine, the olive, rice, the legumina and other plants, on which man has in all ages depended, in a great measure, for his sustenance; but all those animals run wild upon these mountains, which he has tamed and led with him over the whole earth, as the ox, the horse, the ass, the sheep, the goat, the camel, the hog, the dog, the cat, and even the gentle rein-deer, who accom-

SECTION III.

OF THE ANTIQUITY OF THE HUMAN SPECIES.

Who is able to compute how often the sun has revolved in his course, since on some happy field of Cashmire, or on a healthful mountain of Thibet, God inspired into the first man of earth the spark of the Divine Spirit? At present the reckonings of time among all nations reach up nearly to a like period. The great numbers of the Chinese, Indians, and Egyptians are astronomical, not historical; not unlike Buffon's Periods of Nature, of which he chooses to assume one of 80,000 years before the earth could have assumed the state in which we now see it.

The oldest book of the Chinese annals does not commence its historical record from an earlier time than that of our Trojan war. The Greeks, Homer and Hesiod, are older than its author. Neither do the Indians carry up their historical age more than 5000 years. According to the scriptural chronology, in that way of reckoning it which appears to me the most probable, almost three thousand years may be added to this computation. We may, in my opinion, assume 7506 years from the origin of mankind, as it is known to us by means of the Bible, to the present day.* (1784.)

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panies him even to the icy polar tracts. In Cashmire plants, animals, and men exist in the greatest physical perfection.

A number of arguments are suggested in favor of this opinion. Bailly has referred the origin of the arts and sciences, of astronomy and of the old lunar zodiac, and the discovery of the planets, to the most northerly tract of Asia. His attachment to Buffon's hypothesis of the central fire and the gradual refrigeration of the earth has driven him indeed, to the banks of the frozen ocean; but his arguments apply more naturally to the centre of Asia. (See Bailly's Letters to Voltaire.)

Lastly, in our Scriptures the second origin of mankind is referred to a mountainous region eastward of Shinar, and the ancient books of the Hindoos fix the cradle of our race in the same quarter. The Hindoo paradise is on Mount-Meru, which is on the confines of Cashmire and Thibet. T.

* 2262 years to the deluge (Septuag. and Jul. African.); 1074 to the

SECTION IV.

BEGINNING OF HISTORY.—PERSIA.

From the oldest times we possess only fragments, which consist partly of poems misunderstood, and partly of uncertain successions of kings. We propose to confine ourselves to those nations who have exercised the greatest influence upon the fates of Europe. Within this limit Persia may well hold the first place; a region of high culture from the earliest age, where traces of the pure religion of Zerdusht, which he brought among the nations from Mount Albordi, may still be recognized. The people who inhabit the southern side of the great ridge of hills have ever displayed greater inventive powers and greater constancy in preserving their institutions than the tribes who dwell to the northward: the former of these endowments they owe to the ease and leisure afforded them by a more propitious climate, and by their practice of temperance; the latter to their settled habits, not being prompted by a restless spirit to a migratory life.

The remains of the ancient Persian capital Estakhar,* as well as those of the Egyptian Laksor,† and the ruins on the hither peninsula of India, bear the expression of majestic grandeur, and of a noble desire to hand down to futurity eternal memorials of certain great truths or remarkable events. These elevated feelings cannot be the effect of climate; otherwise they could not fail still to exhibit a like influence in the same countries, where instead of ancient simplicity and grandeur, a fondness for singularity and false refinement is now displayed. Was man being nearer to his origin conscious of a higher rank in nature? Did he think less on the enjoyments of sense, and more on that which endures for ever? In reality, the palaces of Dshem-

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birth of Terah's eldest son (LXX.); 60 to Abraham (Usher); 75 to his departure for Canaan; 215 to Jacob's departure for Egypt; 430 to Moses (Michaelis); 592 to the building of the Temple (Josephus); from that time we follow the common chronology.

* Persepolis. † Thebes.

shid and Osymandyas are as widely distinguished from that of Versailles as Moses and Homer from the wits of the age of Louis XIV.

SECTION V.

ASSYRIA.

We come next to the exuberant fields which the Tigris and Euphrates water, especially towards the end of their course, and of which Hippocrates has left us an excellent description. "All the productions of Asia," says he, "are more beautiful and larger than those of the region we inhabit; the climate and the manners of men are more gentle; the people are benevolent and generous: many impetuous rivers, flowing between banks shaded with noble trees, roll their waves through extensive plains; no country, except, perhaps Egypt, is more fertile in men and animals, nor are the natives any where of greater stature or of finer persons; they love pleasure and yet are not the less brave. They have certain national traits of countenance, in which they resemble each other more than the people of Europe, whose countries and seasons are exposed to more frequent and greater vicissitudes."

It appears that no long period of time had elapsed after that great inundation of which almost all nations have some knowledge, when the countries above described became the seat of colonists, and that certain tribes of these settlers acquired in the course of a few centuries an eminent degree of opulence and power. We are also informed that some nations descending from the mountains in a very distant age conquered these beautiful plains, when they acquired civilization, and under monarchs of whom we have little knowledge enjoyed their prosperity during many centuries. We neither know how far their power extended, nor how many dynasties ruled over them; but we easily conceive that the adaptation of the government to the manners of the people, the tranquil character of the latter, and the custom of continually changing the rulers in the provinces, may have given this empire a long duration. Mon-

archy has of itself this advantage, that its simple tenor and its resemblance to the domestic relations between the father of the family and the children and servants, give it stability, while the frequent removal of the rulers renders it tolerable even to those who delight in change.

SECTION VI.

OF THE SYRIAN COAST AND PHENICE.

Syria, between Lebanon and Mount Taurus, the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, but chiefly the sea-coast as far as it was inhabited by the Phenicians, obtained a powerful influence over all nations. With respect to many discoveries we are uncertain whether they belonged to this people, or the Egyptians: it is clear that the Phenicians communicated to us all the sciences of inner Asia.

The primitive sources of these sciences will probably remain always unknown to us. Thoth or Thoyth, to whom it is common to refer them, is not the name of a man, but signifies a monument. This mistake gave rise to the fable of the pillars of Seth, one of the first men, which in this sense may be not without historical foundation. But all the inscriptions on such pillars, on account of the nature of the oldest written characters or the style of expression, were allegorical.

Hence the numerous symbols of the Greek mythology, a system of sacred fables, alike exalted in its first principles and in the immortal works of the poets, but which, as the knowledge of foreign idioms declined and the hidden sense was forgotten, became by degrees unintelligible. Plato and Zeno, who, 600 years after Homer, first undertook to interpret them, and all the school of these philosophers, who have displayed more ingenuity than learning in this pursuit, may well be thought to have guessed the meaning of but a small part. Moreover the mythology had become mixed with the history of countries, and the gods of various nations were exchanged for each other when they only bore some mutual resemblance. The Oriental Hercules may have been the Sun; the Hercules of Greece was repre-

sented as a warrior roaming in quest of adventures; in Gaul he was seen in the form of a foreign merchant. Later writers have pursued this work of interpretation in a manner wholly devoid of taste: with them Phaëthon is an astronomer, who died before the completion of his book;* Bellerophon followed the same profession, but suffered from addicting himself too closely to his studies; the judgement of Paris was the declamation of a rhetorician of that name in praise of the three goddesses; the expression of a Trojan funeral hymn on the premature death of Ganymede the king's son, "the gods found him so lovely that they were envious of the earth," and the fable related concerning Tiresius and Ceneus, that they were sometimes men and sometimes women, were supposed to relate to the introduction of the most immoral passions.

The best resources that we have from the Greeks for comprehending in some measure the sense of the mythological doctrine which was set forth in their mysteries, are the Orphic hymns, which may be partly the work of Onomacritus, partly of the Pythagorean Cercops. The style of these poems is very sublime. Orpheus, whose name is not absurdly affixed to them since they contain his doctrines, had visited Egypt, and the Phenician colonies in Bœetia. Some obscure knowledge of Moses seems also discoverable in these productions. It cannot be denied that the learned men of Alexandria may have made various alterations and additions in the course of the third century; still it is manifest that the mysteries contributed very much to the forming and softening of manners, and especially imparted serenity to life as well as to death by the consoling hopes of immortality. They may well hold the preference, not in their essential character, but in the manner of representation, over those far more recent ideas which have surrounded the bed of death with needless terrors.

This life was considered in the mysteries as a state of preparation for a lasting and progressive happiness, or if that was needful, for a still longer purification. It is true

* Anon. περι απιστων.

that this doctrine remained hidden from the common people; they were not prepared to receive it without abuse; perhaps it was also on this account that Moses among the Hebrews has scarcely pointed out in the obscure distance some indications of the same prospect.

SECTION VII

COLCHIS AND SCYTHIA.

To the northward of the Asiatic plains, the vallies of the inaccessible Caucasus afforded an abode to various tribes of free and barbarous people. The inhabitants of Colchis alone, invited to the cultivation of commerce by the vicinity of two seas which were formerly joined towards the north, attained by means of it to a degree of opulence which rendered them celebrated. Their territory of small extent lay on the eastern shore of the Euxine sea: the greater part of it was marshy, and the atmosphere humid; they had frequent and heavy rains; a great number of channels intersected their plains, on the banks of which the dwellings of the people were placed, raised for the most part upon stakes. The natives of the country were corpulent, and somewhat above the middle stature; their language was hard of utterance and ungraceful. They were the Hollanders of those ancient times. Their chief river the Phasis, like the Rhine, lost itself in interminable sands.

Northern Scythia, including all the region above Sarmatia and the forests of Germany as far as the frozen sea, was a wilderness through which many pastoral and hunting nations incessantly roamed. Herodotus, who collected on their borders all the accounts which he could obtain from merchants and travellers, has described these tribes and their manners with wonderful accuracy. We shall make further mention of them in the course of this general outline, at the period when they become important to universal history.

SECTION VIII.

ARABIANS; JEWS; PHENICIAN COLONIES.

Of the great Arabian people, situated on the confines of Inner and Outer Asia, and in the country of frankincense and spices, who during so many centuries received gold from foreign nations, but never submitted universally to a foreign yoke, we shall have the most proper occasion to treat at that epoch when they broke out at once from their boundaries, and became lords of the finest portions of the earth.

A similar remark applies to the Jews. Long as it were shut up in a country of small extent, long despised by the more powerful and cultivated nations, they obtained at once after the fall of Jerusalem, by the Christian religion which arose among them, a more general, a more durable influence over the human race, than the ancient Romans had acquired by their three hundred and twenty triumphs. The natural place for relating their history will occur on a future occasion.

It remains at present to speak of the Phenicians, by far the most important nation in these primitive times, who were the inventors of glass, of purple, of coinage, and of the characters which afterwards were adopted in Europe. Setting out from a narrow coast on the Syrian Sea, they visited all the shores of the Mediterranean; they peopled and cultivated the isle of Thasos, and many others in the vicinity of Greece, as well as Bœotia, the north of Africa and the coast of Spain. While they embarked on one side at Elath on the Red Sea, to sail round Africa, they passed on the other through the Spanish strait; sought tin in the mines of Britain, and amber where the Prussian Radaune pours itself into the Baltic; and as a second Tyre was founded by them in the Persian Gulf, so Kulm in Prussia was perhaps also their settlement.* They even introduced among the ancients the notion of islands, and a

* Uphagen, Parerga.

continent beyond the Atlantic Ocean. The greatest things are effected by the smallest nations, who are stimulated by necessity to exertion.

Much to be lamented is the slender state of our knowledge concerning their domestic history and enterprises. The latter they were in the habit of concealing under the most impenetrable secrecy. Certain discoveries were purposely consigned to oblivion, because the magistrates dreaded the too numerous migrations and endless divisions of the Phenician people. Tyre, the mother country, fell also at too early a period, and the writers belonging to the nation were lost together with its power and liberty. Of the old Sanchoniathon, a few and as it seems ill interpreted fragments remain, and we have a still more meagre abstract of the later voyages of Hanno.

The boundaries of Asia towards Africa lose themselves in the sandy desert between Gaza and Pelusium. Many travellers have here found their death, where the treacherous sands often form the appearance of a bridge over the Sirbonitic gulf.

SECTION IX.

EGYPT.

The land on which we now enter, Delta, the paradise of Egypt, is not so old as the world, but has been gradually deposited by the waters of the Nile. From the point of the Delta, a long valley ascends along the course of the river beyond Memphis, to the spot where Laksor displays its astonishing ruins. Another valley extends thence to the rocks over which the stream falls in deafening cataracts. To the westward, lie deserts of sand; to the eastward, mountains whose feet are washed by the Arabian Gulf, dangerous to navigators. The Delta, and these valleys comprise Egypt.

It is remarkable as one of the most universally fruitful countries of the earth, and as the abode of a very ancient people. It equally attracts our notice by the long unaltered duration of its laws, its customs, and arts. The system

of its laws was well constituted, and in the strictest relation to the nature of the country and the people. Hence, the native government long maintained its authority, as in after times, every foreign dominion and institution was frail and transient. The former was enabled to resist the transitory conquests of the Ethiopians, a nation whose manners were by no means foreign to those of its native people.

In fact, the theocracy, or the sovereignty of the priesthood was also very powerful in Ethiopia. But we know so little of the distant parts of Africa, that even recent travellers have often only copied from the old and respectable Agatharchides. No man has penetrated far into the country, and yet this does not seem impracticable for those who dwell upon the borders.

SECTION X.

ASIA MINOR.

The great peninsula of Lesser Asia contains very beautiful districts, as well as places strongly fortified by nature. Many rivers, some of them of considerable width, water luxuriant and enchanting plains; formerly a fiery mountain here and there threw out flames, and after these became extinguished, earthquakes shook the land; but since the rivers have deposited more soil about their estuaries, and the water has been kept at a distance from the ancient craters, the earthquakes also have more rarely happened.

In Lesser Asia, at the feet of Ida, lay Troy, from the chieftains of which so many of the royal dynasties in Europe have chosen to trace their origin. The tribes indeed which peopled Pannonia, Gaul, Italy, and perhaps Greece, may be supposed to have effected their passage in remote times from these coasts into the neighboring continent of Europe.

Troy itself is an important place in the memorials of the human race. The chieftains who fought for and against it, have been already during three thousand years the

objects of admiration and pity among all civilized nations. By their magnanimity, by their heroism, their power, their friendships, they merited the immortality which Homer has given them. Through them, Asia and Europe came into the first durable relations, and the Grecian tribes were first collected to a common enterprise. This remark leads us to enter upon the primitive state of Greece.

SECTION XI.

GREECE.

Ancient traditions, as well as physical observations, point out the former existence of the land of Lectonia, which would seem to have occupied a part of the space now filled by the Grecian sea. An earthquake probably broke down its foundations, and the whole was finally submerged under the waves. Perhaps this event happened when the sea, which was formerly extended over the Scythian plains, forced its way through the Bosphorus and precipitated itself into the basin of the Mediterranean.* The numerous islands of the Archipelago appear to be the remains of Lectonia. This tract of land probably

* It was the opinion of Pallas that the Euxine and Caspian seas, as well as the lake Aral, and several others, are the remains of an extensive sea, which covered a great part of the north of Asia. (See Pallas: Reise durch Siberien, 5 B.) This conjecture of Pallas, which was drawn from his observations in Siberia, has been confirmed by Klaproth's Survey of the Country to the Northward of the Caucasus. Lastly, M. de Choiseul Gouffier adds, that a great part of Moldavia, Vallachia, and Bessarabia, bears evident traces of having formed part of the same sea.

It has often been conjectured that the opening of the Bosphorus was the occasion of the draining of this ocean in the midst of Europe and Asia. The memory of this disruption of the two continents was preserved in the traditions of Greece. Strabo (lib. i. p. 49,) Pliny (Hist. Nat. lib. ii. c. 90,) and Diodorus (lib. v. c. 47,) have collected the ancient memorials which existed of so striking a catastrophe. The truth of the story has, however, been placed on more secure grounds by physical observations on the districts in the vicinity of the Bosphorus. See Dr. Clarke's Travels, and particularly a Mémoire by M. de Choiseul Gouffier in the Mems. de Institut. Royal de France, 1815, in which the author has collected much curious information on this subject.

facilitated the passage of the first colonists out of Asia into our quarter of the world.

For a long time the soil of Greece remained cold and marshy; an extensive sea covered Thessaly, before the Peneus broke for itself a channel through the rocks of Tempe.

The oldest name in the Grecian history is that of Inachus, who is said to have founded Argos. His existence has been doubted, but on insufficient grounds. Ogyges succeeds to him, who lived about the time when the lake Copais poured its fertilizing waters over the wide plains of Bœotia. All these events happened in such remote periods that the traditions of the primitive world were distinguished by the term of Ogygian.

A somewhat brighter day already appears with the dawning of Attic civilization. Cecrops, an Egyptian, built a town upon the site, where afterwards the citadel of Athens rose in magnificence. He introduced morals and judicial regulations, and the country became an asylum for the innocent and persecuted. Festivals, compacts, and laws, thence extended their beneficial influence.

A hundred and thirty years after him, the Phenician Cadmus brought the use of letters into Bœotia; and at Thebes, in the same country, he erected a citadel. The greatest lyric poet, and the most accomplished general of the Greeks, were Bœotians; nevertheless this people was accused of stupidity. Perhaps they knew not how to value these great men. Their discoveries were brought to perfection by others, and more usefully applied. It is moreover remarkable, that Cadmus, the father of learning, who taught us to hand down our thoughts to futurity, came into Greece just at the time when the arms of Joshua, the leader of the Jews, drove the Phenician tribes toward the sea, and compelled them to seek refuge in distant colonies. This act of a despised people, scarcely known to the Grecian historians, was the occasional cause of all the intellectual and moral excellence which has arisen through the influence of literature.

The Phenicians also brought with them the use of wine, and the oracle of Delphi seems to have been their work.

This temple, after the establishment of which the soothsaying oaks of Dodona fell into oblivion, became a central point of union for the different Grecian tribes.

The latter were distinguished by the name of Hellenes, from Hellen, son of Deucalion, a Thessalian chief, whom an inundation compelled to take refuge on Mount Parnassus, situated above Delphi. Hellen united a number of tribes. He was the father of Dorus, the grandfather of Ion, the brother of Amphictyon.

This last,* a chief of Locris, established at Thermopylæ, in a pass on the confines of Thessaly and Greece, a periodical assembly of deputies, bearing delegated powers from eleven or twelve small tribes, each of whom had two votes. How these were to be disposed of was determined on a particular day appointed for the public convention of each state. The object was to ameliorate manners and to promote religion; it was therefore ordained that the power of all the confederates should be directed against him who should destroy any town comprehended in the league, or even in war, should plunder a temple or cut off or poison fountains. The general assembly endeavored to settle all disputes which happened among the Grecian tribes; the particular one, those which occurred in individual states. The Amphictyons brought their wives and children with them when they assembled. The festival of the tutelar god was held, and contests were carried on in the public games.

So long as the tribes were small, and all the states nearly equal in power, it was possible for this constitution to subsist; but its weight and utility were lost when Phthiotis and Mount Œta influenced the decisions with as many votes as the Dorians and Ionians; when at the meeting of the Dorian people, the sordid Cytinium had an equal sway with the mighty Lacedæmon. Accordingly the form only of the Amphictyonic council remained; in great affairs they had scarcely as much influence as the diet at Ratisbon.

Before the Trojan war some common enterprises, with-

* See Scymnus Chius, in Hudson's Geograph. Vet.

out plan, were attempted by the restless boldness of particular chieftains; but these were not national undertakings. Thus Jason performed the Argonautic voyage in quest of the gold of Colchis; a wonderful expedition, if we consider the infant state of navigation; thus all the chiefs of the Peloponnesus became partakers in the family feud of Thebes. The former of these enterprises was excited by the desire of booty; those who embarked in the latter were moved by the relationship of a chief of Argos to one of the Theban princes.

The peninsula of Peloponnesus, the inhabitants of which had little to fear from external dangers, was eminently adapted for such exploits. Moreover Pelops, and after him Perseus, had gained and imparted to their city of Argos, such a preponderating influence, that the peninsula acquired a sort of metropolis.

Athens interfered less in such restless movements. Attica was accordingly better cultivated, and the high court of the Areopagus became a venerable example. Many cities long after acknowledged that agriculture originated from Attica, by annual offerings of the first fruits of their land.* The Athenians were chiefly proud of having first introduced popular government among the Greeks. Their kings ruled as founders of plantations, with the influence which the merit of the original settlement and the number of colonists in their suite imparted; but Theseus joined all the twelve Attic boroughs to the chief city, and united their senates into one body. Of the townsmen of all of them he formed one assembly, to which he intrusted the election of the king; he retained for himself scarcely any privilege, except that of presiding at the celebration of sacrifices and in the council, and the command in time of war.† Henceforth Athens was distinguished by the preservation of a great part of its native customs, while other states were exposed to many alterations from external contingencies.

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*Isocrat. Panegyr. †Marm. Arundel. Thucyd. Orat. Demosh.

SECTION XII.

CRETE.

In these ancient times Minos, king of Crete, exercised his preponderating power on the sea; he drove out the barbarous Carians from the Cyclades, and exterminated piracy, which among the Greeks had been openly professed; he kept the people of the coasts in awe of him, and at the same time forced them to pay him tribute. Crete was very advantageously situated to become mistress of this sea; but at length a confederacy arose which put a period to her dominion.

Minos wished to render the Cretans mild and gentle in their manners; in order to attain this object, he allowed free indulgence to licentious excesses, even of the most flagitious kind, hoping that the refinements of gallantry would mitigate the native ferocity of his subjects.*

The Cretans, as individuals, possessed eminent skill in military affairs, while the laws which they adopted prevented the state from undertaking any great enterprise abroad.† Instead of a king, to whose decision every thing was ultimately referred, they elected ten cosmes or regulators to govern in peace and in war. These were chosen from ancient families for a limited time; and when the period of their office was completed, they remained members of the senate. The judges were all men of advanced age; young men were never allowed to propose any alterations in the laws, and it was especially forbidden to make such proposals in any other place than in the senate, and even there it was only permitted to be done secretly. For the rest the whole produce of the country, which was generally fertile, was divided into twelve portions; all was in common, and the citizens ate together in public companies; one portion was destined for the sacrifices, and another for the hospitable entertainment of strangers. The lands were cultivated by slaves, and the use of arms was reserved

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* Plato, leg. 8. Strabo. † Aristotle, Polit. 2. Plato, leg. 1.

for freemen. Fruits, cattle, money, and all other things were under the direction of the senate. They were less anxious that the population should become numerous, than that every man should be sufficiently provided for; and were less desirous of superfluity than of an easy and careless life. The chase, gymnastic exercises, and wandering in quest of adventures, occupied the life of the private citizen. Fighting, and even theft, when executed with great adroitness, were regarded as lawful means of acquiring address and manual dexterity.

This constitution had a long duration: for the assembly of the people had simply the privilege of confirming or rejecting the propositions of the senate and the cosmes, without the slightest modification. It happened indeed sometimes that they deposed the cosmes, and refused to elect others; disputes occurred concerning the duration and limits of their authority and that of the senate; but these contests produced only factious commotions; the laws were on the whole maintained; and the island, protected by the sea, preserved its freedom as long as the other Grecian states.

SECTION XIII.

THE TROJAN WAR.

The Trojan power had formed itself in the borders of Mount Ida;* in the course of three hundred years many neighboring Asiatic nations, and lastly, even in Europe, the coast of Thrace, and an extensive country reaching to the confines of Thessaly, had become subject to the king of Troy, either by voluntary submission or by force of arms. This monarch was therefore considered as the richest and greatest potentate of western Asia.† Against him the princes of the Grecian tribes associated themselves in the cause of Menelaus king of Lacedemon, whose consort had been carried away by the son of the Trojan monarch. The throne of Troy was overturned after a ten years war; at

* Υπωρεια. † Regnatorum Asiæ.

the same time the long absence of the chiefs, occasioned many innovations in Greece, which were very pernicious to the reigning dynasties. The Greeks, themselves, became unaccustomed to good order and to the enjoyment of a peaceful life; and hence many disturbances arose, in consequence of which, in the course of the succeeding centuries, not only the reigning families were deprived of their power, but monarchy itself was in many instances abolished, and aristocracies or democracies introduced.

The Iliad and Odyssey were probably sung by Homer about a century and a half after the destruction of the town of Troy. They are as old as David's Psalms. Originally the Iliad would appear not to have been a single connected poem, but to have attained at a later period its present complete state. A hundred years after Homer, Lycurgus the lawgiver of Lacedemon brought these poems into Greece, and two centuries and a half later, Pisistratus is supposed to have given them their perfect form. His son Hipparchus introduced the custom of reciting rhapsodies at the Panathenaia, or festival of the tutelar goddess. A more complete edition of the Homeric poems, from which our modern ones are taken, was prepared by Aristotle for Alexander the Great, which the latter used to keep under his pillow in a golden case. Also Aratus the astronomer, Aristarchus of Samos, and Aristophanes, librarian at Alexandria, bestowed their labor on these immortal songs.

They are according to my opinion the noblest of all poems. The orator, the historian, the poet, and the private citizen, obtain from them equal instruction. A fine moral sentiment breathes through the whole. We behold at one time the ruinous consequences of violence and anarchy; at another the power of moderation and reason. Obedience and freedom, heroism and military discipline are recommended. Men appear as they are; all is in action; nothing is idle or in stagnation. We are carried away from ourselves and instructed without being conscious of it. Hence it was that Homer became the pattern of Thucydides, the favorite author of the greatest and noblest men, and one of the best teachers of the wisdom of human life.

SECTION XIV.

ITALY.

The population of Italy probably had its beginning about the end of this period. The primitive inhabitants descending from the north dwelt in the Appenines, and in the plains formerly abounding in morasses, which stretch between these mountains and the Alps. The sea-coasts were peopled from the Peloponnesus. Œnotrus, descended from a branch of the royal family of Argos, which was settled in Arcadia, is considered as the leader of the first aborigines of Latium.* The primitive people of the neighboring parts of Italy were named Siculi. The Greeks above mentioned, with the assistance of their countrymen the Pelasgi, achieved such conquests, that they soon became the chief inhabitants even of the Adriatic coast. The Pelasgi, driven by Deucalion out of Thessaly, had long wandered about, until chance conducted them to the mouth of the Po. Thence the most valiant of their youth passed over the mountains, and discovered the aborigines; the rest desirous of repose, founded not far from the place where Ravenna now stands, the town of Spina, which by means of commerce and naval power, became mistress of the Adriatic, and whose costly gifts shone in the Delphic temple, many centuries after this people had suffered destruction from the barbarians.

The Siculi driven out by the Pelasgi and aborigines, after they had left Italy, united themselves with the Sicani, a Spanish race, at the foot of Ætna, in the beautiful island which from them received the name of Sicily.

At this period, the whole population of Italy was perhaps scarcely equal to that which at present exists in the kingdom of Naples; but the habits of pastoral and hunting people require an ample space; agriculture was not much known, and men were fond of a roving and adventurous life. Hence arose famines and civil disturbances, in con-

* Dionys. Halicarnass. lib. 1.

sequence of which the rulers of the land resolved to send out colonies. For this purpose, either every tenth man was chosen by lot, or as many men were appointed as had been born in the country during the course of one year. Sometimes those who were destined for emigration, were selected by the magistrate; at others, they offered themselves voluntarily. Arms were given them, and implements for the most necessary occupations. Afterwards a sacrifice was prepared, and the departing company was recommended to the protection of some god. They embarked, sought for land, and founded upon some remote shore a town, which only remained connected with the mother country by the worship of common deities, and by the sentiment of ancient friendship. They often afforded each other mutual aid against foreign conquerors, or the oppressive tyranny of some usurping citizen.

There is accordingly more than one great distinction between the ancient colonies and ours.* The former were founded by nations with the intent that their citizens might be enabled to live more commodiously; those of modern times have been for the most part mercantile enterprises, the object of which is the acquisition of wealth. Accordingly the ancient colonists raised such productions as were necessary to human subsistence; the moderns such as are most advantageous for commerce. When among us the state has taken any part in such affairs, the increase of its power and revenues has been the chief end in view. It was quite otherwise with the ancients, whose most valuable property consisted in territorial possessions, and not in gold, and who, on account of the fruitfulness of their soil and the simplicity of their lives, found their wants easily satisfied.

When great and populous towns covered all the coasts, and room for colonizing was less easily found, skill in the laborious arts must necessarily have been improved;† many persons became partakers in the labor before carried on by one; their operations were performed better and

* Smith, Wealth of Nations, b. v.

† Labor ingenium miseris dedit. Manil.

with greater despatch, and inventions were multiplied. Already in Homer's time a greater luxury displays itself, although still near to the unformed taste of nature; he mentions Orchomenos, Tyre, Sidon, and the Egyptian Thebes, as towns whose riches, politeness, and commerce were the wonder of the world.

For the rest, the wandering Pelasgi soon lost all independence even in Italy. No regular government among them ever attained the period of maturity, but they mixed themselves with other nations.

In Italy the Hetruscans and the Arcadians acquired the most lasting distinction; the former made themselves masters of most of the Pelasgic towns; their remarkable skill in the affairs of religion, and their knowledge of nature, gave them the same influence in Italy which the greatness of their maritime power and their bold enterprises obtained through the whole Mediterranean sea. Their true name appears to have been, "Rhæti" from Resan, one of the ancestors of their race; it would appear that they were called Tyrrheni, from the Greek name for their dwellings,* consisting of many stories—Tuscans from the Greek term for sacrifice,† in which as in all kinds of augury they were the most experienced masters. Originally they appear to have been a race related to the northern nations. They governed Italy from the Alps to the Tiber; and after the Gauls had taken from them the wide valley of the Po, and the feet of the Alps, the confederation of their twelve cities still maintained itself, and supported for centuries its splendid dominion on the sea.

The seat of the Arcadian colonies was Mount Palatium on the Tiber; Evander, who had become dangerous to the powerful of his country by his opulence and wisdom, left Arcadia to settle in this district. He brought among the barbarians, laws and civilization, and industry and commerce soon began to display themselves. Hercules, a stranger, persuaded the Italians and some Gallic and Spanish nations to establish a commercial road, for the security of which they entered into mutual bonds.

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* Τυρσεις. † Θυσιαι.

The commencement of the Italian history is a piece of mythology misunderstood. The kingdom of Janus represents the ancient dominion of Chaos, and its transition into the organized creation; the age of Saturn is an obscure remembrance of the ancient world, a delineation of the character of remote antiquity and of the simplicity of the primitive times.

BOOK II.

FROM THE FIRST RISE OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENTS TO THE TIME OF SOLON.

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTION.

The history of the six centuries which elapsed from the destruction of Troy to the time of Solon is less fertile in fables but not accurately known. Poets lived during this period, but they took for the most part the passions for their themes. There were also historians who acquired fame, but the eloquence and surpassing merits of their successors, caused their works to fall into speedy oblivion.

SECTION II.

BABYLON.

Three hundred years after the Trojan war, the ancient kingdom of the Assyrians fell through effeminacy and negligence. Many petty states arose out of its ruins, two of which raised themselves to a high degree of power; the kings of Media subdued the mountain land of Persia, and established relations of amity with the hordes that

wandered on the eastern side of the Caspian Sea; they conquered also a portion of the empire which had centered in Nineveh; at the same time the king of Babel or Babylon flourished with still greater magnificence and power.

In this very ancient seat of learning and science, Nabopolassar, after a long period of anarchy and division, erected a most powerful monarchy, whose sceptre Nebuchadnezzar, his son, extended from the mountains of Caucasus, where he defeated the Iberians, to the sandy deserts of Libya. He burnt Jerusalem; defeated Ammon, Moab, and Edom, conquered Tyre, the richest commercial city of the Phenicians, laid waste Egypt, and formed for his empire a new boundary, either by leaving its borders desolate or in some instances by peopling them with tribes drawn from distant countries. He adorned the city of his residence with the noblest works of architecture.

Of this city even the ruins are scarcely discoverable. It is still more difficult to trace the vestiges of Nineveh, which lay at the distance of a three days' journey from it. Time has contributed less to this effect than the marshy nature of the soil, in which the ruins have sunk, in some places, to a considerable depth. The mode of building was besides not well calculated for durability.*

SECTION III.

EGYPT.

After the Trojan war, Egypt acquired greater opulence than it had before attained. The dynasties into which it was divided became united; the whole country submitted to one king; and the latter was subject to the laws, over which the priests presided as a restraining power. One circumstance was calculated to disturb this constitution; viz. the separation made by Sesostris between the military and agricultural classes. If a succession of able princes had followed, they might have rendered themselves superior to the laws, but the only consequence which ensued

* Vossii Observat. Lond. 1685

was, that the rustic became unwarlike, and that the independence of Egypt often hung upon the fate of a single battle.

We talk of the oppressive spirit, we declaim on the vanity, of the founders of the vast pyramids. Let us not pass so hasty a censure on ancient Egypt. Her monuments have something mysterious which betrays ideas worthy of our admiration. Each side of the base of the greatest pyramid 500 times multiplied gives 57,075 toises, which complete a geographical degree. The cube of the nilometer 200,000 times multiplied gives exactly the same result.*

Towards the end of the period we are now treating of, the political weakness which had taken its rise from the causes above mentioned began to display itself. Egypt in order to resist the increasing power of the Assyrian monarchy required the aid of the Ethiopians, and an Ethiopian ascended the throne of Pharaoh. But even by such means the state with difficulty held out against the rising empire of Asia. Egypt was in general unwarlike; the great fruitfulness of the land, the fondness of the people for all kinds of pleasure, even the inclination to a life of repose which they habitually acquired during the annual overflowings of the Nile, rendered the nation effeminate. The authority of the priesthood may have contributed to this effect.

When the decline of the Egyptian power became manifest, the people sought for the cause in the personal character of their kings; and twelve chiefs were chosen in their stead, who weakened the kingdom by factions, until one of the number re-established the monarchy. But Psammetichus, the new sovereign, placed his chief reliance on a body of foreign troops. Egypt, hitherto shut up in itself, and "hostile to strangers," was thus opened to commercial intercourse, and its laws and customs suffered by the change.

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* Pancton. Metrologie. Paris, 1780.

SECTION IV.

LACEDEMON.

Eighty years after Agamemnon at the head of the Grecian forces had overturned Troy, his descendants the Atridæ lost the power which belonged to them in the Peloponnesus. The posterity of the warrior Hercules led the Dorians into that country. Tisamenus, the grandson of Agamemnon, and son of Orestes, was defeated and slain; the chief cities were partitioned; and Achaia alone was left to the Atridæ, where, after several centuries, democracy gained the ascendancy. Accordingly, Temenus obtained for his share of the conquest, the beautiful plains of Argos; the hills of Messenia fell to Cresphon; Eurysthenes and Procles, the twin sons of Aristodemus became kings of Lacedemon, with the stipulation that both of them during their lives, and after their death, two of their descendants, should hold the crown jointly. It was unknown which of them was first born. The Delphic god, when interrogated, replied "that the eldest should receive the supreme honors," but gave no hint to which this claim belonged, in order to procure for both the highest dignity without contention. The families of the Heraclidæ also joined in a league of mutual defence, and engaged to rule according to the laws. Argos and Messene never attained secure tranquillity; Lacedemon was long the sport of faction, but acquired at last a constitution which will ever be in the highest degree remarkable, as displaying the victory of one principle of the understanding over the strongest natural passions.

Lacedemon or Sparta was a very large town on the river Eurotas, at the foot of Taygetus, where the rills which take their rise from the Arcadian mountains, the highest of the Peloponnesus, lose themselves towards the sea. The lot by which most public offices were at first distributed, threw them not always into the hands which were most fit to restrain within the bounds of good order the passions of powerful men; but 150 years after the

entrance of the Heraclidæ, Lycurgus, tutor of king Leobotus, gave laws to the Lacedemonians calculated to found, on the ruins of all the other wishes and feelings of men, and with the appearance of rude and barbarous manners, an heroic character in which the pride of being Lacedemonians was the only sentiment. It is possible that he obtained this idea from Lyctos in Crete, where he had family connexions, as Minos himself received instruction from the Egyptians. It is also probable that a secret association, that powerful instrument of revolution, facilitated the change which he wished to effect in public opinion. In order to effect the introduction of his meditated scheme, he made use, as Minos had done before, of Apollo and the other gods; a practice which the Ephori afterwards adopted.

All the heroes, lawgivers, and the most illustrious sages of Greece were supported by the Delphian god; the understanding which they maintained with his priestess, like that of the Roman Senate with the College of Priests and Augurs, gave them the preponderance in the decision of the most important affairs; and we must in justice to the oracles observe, that the maintenance of freedom and good order, and the softening of manners, were the chief objects of their responses.

Although in the government of Lacedemon the chief authority was in the hands of the two kings, the five ephori, and the senate of twenty-eight; though the popular assembly had no other privilege than the power of electing the senators, who held their places for life; though the more opulent citizens only were admitted into the popular assembly, yet the constitution of Lacedemon was often called by the ancients, a popular government, and even the most powerful of democracies.* They considered democracy as consisting not so much in the forms as in the spirit of the administration, and felt that an assembly of the people is incapable of governing. The object of their wishes was a popular equality of manners.†

The joint sway of the two kings was the corner-stone of

* Isocrates. Areopag. † Aristot. Politic. 4.

the constitution, because each prevented his colleague from erecting tyrannical dominion, and it was the interest of both that the ephori should not oppress the senate or the senators degrade the people. On the other hand, the authority of the ephori was also useful to them; for which reason it is probable that King Theopompus introduced it. This venerated body, in unfortunate turns of affairs, took from the senate a share of the responsibility. Religion was the protection of the monarchy. The royal house, descended through Hercules, from the supreme God of Olympus, could most worthily perform the highest offerings for the fortune of Lacedemon; as the progeny of the hero, as the descendants of the conqueror, the kings most naturally became generals in war, and exercised in that office unlimited power.

Their revenues depended on these two relations. The kings had their share of the sacrifices which were regularly offered in corn, flesh, and wine, on the first and seventh day of each month. That a victim might never be wanting to them in cases of sudden need, they received always a pig from every sow which littered. At the public meals a double share was allotted to them. They had a large fish-pond near their house, and a considerable possession in land, the inheritance of conquest. The two public messengers who were sent to Delphi were nominated by them, resided in their houses, and in common with them superintended the archives of the oracular responses. As marriage in well-ordered communities is respected as a sacred bond, the betrothing of orphan daughters depended on the kings. It was only under their superintendence that any young person could be adopted as a child into another family, and therefore take a share in the service of strange household gods. Every where, in the senate and at the public shows, they had the first rank; every man except the ephori rose from his seat when one of the kings appeared. In war the army knew no other command; the influence of the ephori had an end as soon as the forces were assembled.

Each of the six divisions,* of which the army consisted,

* Μοιραι.

was led by one polemarch or military commander, and was divided into four battalions,* under so many lochagi or captains. Each battalion, consisting at first of one hundred men, was divided into two companies of fifty, and finally each of the last into subdivisions of twenty-five. This army, under the first of the kings, contained two thousand citizens; and when it afterwards became much more numerous, similar divisions were retained with increase of strength. The numbers contained under the above-mentioned distributions depended on the secret decision of the king and his own council. In order to conceal the numbers they often arranged more or fewer men in a similar army under each division.

In general the simple arrangement and good command of their army speedily gave to the Lacedemonians the advantages which are insured by superior tactics. They also were the first who availed themselves of martial music, as well for regulating the march, as to make the will of the leaders intelligible without words to practised ears.† The learning of these melodies, which, that they might remain unintelligible to the enemy, had much variety, was one chief occupation of their schools. The Lacedemonians also first adopted military uniform, and they made choice of red in order that the enemy might not perceive whether he had inflicted any wounds. They were wont to wear their hair long as a sign of freedom, a privilege which was not allowed to mechanics, as it was not permitted to slaves to bear arms. At the opening and during the continuance of war, the military officers always accompanied the army and practised it in the morning in marching, in manipulations, and evolutions; they ate with the warriors, exercised them in their songs of praise to the gods and heroes, and slept like the private soldiers on their arms. On the confines of their country, they sacrificed to Jupiter and to Pallas, the goddess of the art of war; they took fire with them from this altar, and repeated their offering before

* Λοχοι.

† "Procedere ad modum tibiamque, nec adhibere ullam sine anapæstis pedibus hortationem. CICERO, Tusculan. 2.

every battle. They were very careful to preserve the splendor of their arms and implements. At the conclusion of a war the king gave an account of his conduct in the administration of it. If he fell for his country, his memory was honored with that of other immortalized heroes; the whole nation put on mourning when the king died, and a cessation from business of every kind was observed during ten days.

But in times of peace, the college of the ephori and the senate had greater power. Each king had only a single voice at the consultations. The ephori were so powerful in the administration of the commonwealth, that they could depose, imprison, and even put to death the kings and all other magistrates who overstepped the just limits of their authority; all offences which had escaped the other courts of judicature were punished by them, and each of them had to this end a class of civil causes under his particular inspection; but they could not put any individual to death without the concurrence of the senate. In this particular and in the mode of their election this council bore much resemblance to the Athenian Areopagus. It appears that the first men of the senate, in order that they might in case of need fill the office of vicegerents, were named "Peers of the kings."* These, together with the ephori and kings, composed the privy council, which decided on secret and important affairs, either with or without the addition of a select number of citizens. In the mode in which these powers maintained themselves in equilibrium, the Lacedemonians found the stability of their constitution, while Argos and Messene vainly sought to obtain the same security in the sanctity of oaths.†

In order to form citizens of great fortitude, and whose whole faculties should be absorbed in the love of their country, the laws applied themselves in the first place to mothers and the infants yet nourished at their breasts. The wives did not give up their whole attention to household affairs; which were confided to the care of the slaves.

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* Ὁμοιοι.

† Thucyd. Xenoph. Isocrat. Panathen. Aristot. Polit. iii.

The young women followed the exercises of men in order to strengthen their own bodies, and to infuse manly feelings into their children together with their milk. The men did not dare to visit their wives openly; because pleasures obtained by stealth are the more valued. Marriages were not concluded until the body had acquired its full vigor, but young men who were not married had a right to demand permission to cohabit with any woman who was very prolific; and if the wife was young and her husband old, the latter was not allowed to refuse the request. The Pædonomi presided over the whole business of education, and took care that all the children should be annually clothed. The latter, however, went barefooted, and were especially inured to support inclement seasons as well as hunger and thirst. They were allowed to steal, and were praised when they practised theft with dexterity; but when from want of vigilance or address they suffered themselves to be caught, the Pædonomi ordered them to undergo a punishment, so much the more severe as it was intended at the same time to teach them to endure pain. To cry out, was considered as the last disgrace. The boys were divided into troops,* commanded by their equals, but they looked upon all their elders as their superiors; so that, although they were encouraged to fight in the streets, yet during the heat of the conflict they were obliged to separate at the command of the meanest citizen; for obedience was held as the greatest of civil virtues. Modesty was esteemed in the second place. A boy never spoke first at the public meals, and when interrogated he replied briefly. It was disgraceful for him to turn his eyes to and fro in the streets, but he was ordered to look straight before him, and keep his hands wrapped in his mantle. From the youths of adult stature, the ephori chose three hippagretes or captains of horse, each of whom selected a hundred companions, but he was obliged to give a reason for his choice; great emulation accordingly was excited, and a noble rivalship for the reputation of good conduct. These three hundred were often used

† Ιλαι.

by the secret council for the execution of their commands, particularly against the Helots, who were the old inhabitants of marshy countries on the seacoast, whom the Lacedemonians had reduced to slavery, and treated with great cruelty.

All the citizens dined in public, arranged according to tribes; the old and young ate together, to the end that the sober gravity of age might be enlivened by the vivacity of youth; and that the young men might form their minds by the wise conversation of their seniors. Possessions were for the most part in common, especially slaves, horses, and dogs, the latter of which Laconia produced of remarkably good quality.* The chase was a favorite sport; and in general whatever produces health and animation was regarded as the path to the highest virtue. He who had fled from his enemy, never dared to show himself afterwards in public places, but was obliged to stand up in the presence of young persons. Oil and unguents were forbidden him; he was subjected to corporal punishment, and his life was harder to endure than many deaths.

All arts of gain were forbidden to the citizens, since it was held unseemly that a freeman should depend for the means of his life upon the will of another. The use of silver and gold was abolished; the iron coin was so large and heavy that the value of a few hundred dollars filled a wagon. The territory was at first divided into thirty thousand estates, of which each citizen at first possessed one. Accomplishments were not positively forbidden, but only the most useful, such as military tactics, the knowledge of languages, and history, were held in esteem. There were no authors in Sparta, and for all memorials of the virtues of this republic, we are indebted to the Athenians. The Lacedemonians directed their attention to strength of body, healthfulness, and fortitude; they likewise exhibited for a long time a remarkable prudence and moderation in the conduct of affairs, and many, who could neither read nor write, by the soundness of their under-

* Julius Pollux. Onomastic. Buffon.

standing baffled the acuteness of the most celebrated philosophers.

The faults of this constitution were the following. Too great advantages were conceded to women, particularly as estates devolved by inheritance upon them, and were also suffered to fall to their lot by gift or legacy, Hence it happened, that although no man could alienate the land which belonged to him, yet these sole riches of the Spartans came at last into the hands of a few families connected together by marriage. So many of the men died in war, that two-fifths of the land fell into the possession of women. Moreover, since the impulses of nature will always maintain their right, and since Lycurgus had elevated his people above the level of humanity, it could not fail to happen that there were many hypocrites. In reality, the less a man dared to enjoy openly, so much the more careful were corrupt citizens to conceal what they had contrived to acquire by unlawful means. The ephori, themselves, who were often poor, suffered this crime to fall to their charge, and also forgave many failings of the senate, in order that the latter might be induced to examine their conduct less scrupulously. Those who could not contribute to the public meals were excluded from them and from all share in public affairs, by a law, which probably was not enacted by Lycurgus. It further happened, that the laws not being written, were in corrupt times interpreted by factions according to their arbitrary will. The introduction of the office of navarch or admiral, which gave great power and opulence, occasioned envy. The number of the citizens being consumed by wars, and seldom or never recruited by new additions,* was exhausted to that degree, that instead of one thousand five hundred horsemen and thirty thousand foot, it consisted at length of one thousand men only, and the thirty thousand portions of land were in the possession of only seven hundred persons.

It is true that this corruption did not begin to display

* It would appear, however, from Pollux, that new additions were occasionally made.

itself until after the lapse of five centuries and a half, such force did the heroic character retain which Lycurgus impressed upon his people. What an ascendency must that lawgiver have possessed who knew how to persuade the opulent of his country to an equal division of their lands and to the abolition of money; who changed a whole republic into a single family, and gave to a corrupt populace a love for their country capable of producing such wonderful effects; who infused into a multitude, a degree of valor which never yielded even on the calamitous day of Leuctra, and such mutual forbearance, that no civil war broke out among them during seven hundred years, even after the decline of manners; who formed an army which never inquired how strong the enemy was, but only where he was to be found; youth full of obedience and respect for their elders, and at the same time, firmly resolved to conquer or die for the liberty of Sparta; old men who after the field of Leuctra with only one hundred young soldiers arrested the victorious enemy in his impetuous career; women who never repined when their sons fell for their country, but bitterly wept when they were not ashamed to survive their leader and fellow-soldiers; and, lastly, a nation eloquent in short proverbs and often in silence, in whom two thousand five hundred years have not wholly extinguished the genius of liberty! For after the republic, after Lacedemon itself had perished, neither the Roman power nor the turbulent and degrading sway of the Byzantine monarchy, nor the arms of the Ottoman Turks, have been able wholly to subdue the citizens of Lycurgus. The bravest among them, as the son of Agesilaus long ago counselled them, left their falling country and fled with their wives and children to the mountains.* After they had lost all, they still saved themselves, and often they descend from the heights of Taygetus to reap the fields which their more timid countrymen have sown for the oppressor. They still dwell in freedom on the mountains of Maïna, under two chiefs, fearless of the Janissaries. Some of them have fled to Corsica, some to

* Isocrat. Archidamus.

the North American Florida.* The Mainottes themselves are strong, warlike men, and rival their forefathers of Lacedemon.

SECTION V.

ATHENS.

It is impossible, after taking leave of Lacedemon, to speak with interest of Argos, a greater city than Sparta; or of the riches of Corinth, which disappeared all at once; or of the barren antiquity of Sicyon; or of the turbulent Messene; or of the monotonous lives of the Arcadian shepherds. Athens alone, is capable of fixing our attention.

In the first book, we saw Theseus collect the fishermen, shepherds, and rustics, from the twelve hamlets of Attica, into one city at the foot of the Cecropian citadel, which was situated at about a league from the sea-coast. Few of the old towns were built very near the shores, which were often alarmed by the incursions of pirates. A century and a half from the time of Theseus, Codrus king of the Athenians, offered himself in war as a sacrifice for his country. After this deed, the people left to the kings only the superintendence of certain religious rites and of the higher courts of judicature.† The principal seat in the senate and in the popular assembly, and the command of the army, were confided to Medon, son of the late king, under the title of Archon. This office was at first for life, but four centuries afterwards, the Athenians limited the reign of the archon to ten years, and at last nine archons were elected instead of one, and continued in office only one year.

Instead of written laws, custom and precedent decided every thing in Athens; the Areopagus, with three other

* This must be a mistake. There is no sufficient authority to suppose that any part of the population of Florida had such an origin. E.

† Lycurgus in Leocrat. Antiphon.

courts took cognizance of criminal suits, while the Heliaia, a numerous court of judicature assembled by lot, presided over civil causes. The districts* of the city, the kindreds,† and the tribes,‡ had over their members the right of protection and superintendence; every citizen was obliged to enrol himself first in his tribe and afterwards in his district. The general assembly of all the Athenian people exercised the supreme power.

The duty of legislating was confided to the archon Draco, a man renowned for his virtues, who produced a written code of criminal laws, which was severe, the manners of the people being as yet ferocious. Not only murder was punished with death and confiscation, or perpetual banishment, but depredation and even petty theft forfeited the life of the offender; for Draco wished that such crimes might never become connected with any enjoyment or gain. This want of proportion between punishments and crimes rendered the fulfilling of these laws impossible, and hence room was afforded for arbitrary judgment. If the laws of Draco had been observed, they would have rendered the character of the people still more barbarous.

The six inferior archons, or the Thesmothetæ, were appointed for interpreting and perfecting the laws, and for superintending their exercise;§ but the necessity of a better code became more and more evident.

This was produced after thirty years, by Solon of Salamis, a man who possessed great knowledge of human nature. The mind of Solon had been formed by long travels; his disposition was gentle and mild; he loved his fellow-citizens and wished to console them for the evils of life; he beheld their frailties with pity and condescension. Solon was one of the seven sages, whose wisdom consisted in observations on the conduct of life, and who have transmitted scarcely any thing to our times. Solon was a poet, and the author of an ideally perfect constitution, which was feigned to have existed in the lost region of Atlantis.

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* Δημοι. † Φρατριαι. ‡ Φυλαι.
§ Demosth. c. Leptin. Pollux Onomast.

Proverbial sentences were the chief work of the seven sages. They handed down two of these in the temple of Delphi, as the sum of all human wisdom; these were, "Know thyself," and "Do nothing to excess." Their philosophy was of an amiable character, and its object was to alleviate the misery of life. To this end they instructed their disciples to look for the sources of happiness in themselves; they taught that what allures the people is vain; that man must revere God even in solitude and in the heart.* The greater number of them were statesmen, as Chilon, ephor of Lacedemon, Bias, one of the most respectable chiefs of Ionia, Pittacus, æsymnete or president of Lesbos, Periander, prince of Corinth, who was mild in his sway till necessity forced him to be severe in self-defence, and who even afterwards acted the part of an upright arbiter in the disputes of his neighbors, and died weary of the burden of government. Solon, perceiving that a city which already contained a numerous population in a small and not very fruitful country could not subsist without the aid of industry and commerce, directed his attention in establishing the laws to this object, and gave them such a character that artificers and merchants might find inducements to settle at Athens. He wished accordingly that each private individual should have greater advantages than elsewhere, and that he should have more alluring rights than in other constitutions; hence the dignity of human nature, even in slaves, was no where so much reverenced as in Athens. Instead of wishing, like Lycurgus, to raise his citizens above the feelings of nature, he gave them laws to which their affections might be attached, wishing to form men, if not heroes.

Yet Solon conceded not to all the citizens the same rights, but allotted to each class, those which were most advantageous to it. He left the popular assembly no other power in domestic affairs, than to elect magistrates and to inspect the account which each of them was obliged to give of his administration. He moderated the terror of

* Homines existimare oportere omnia quæ cernuntur Deorum esse plena; fore enim castiores. CICERO, leg. ii.

the oligarchical Areopagus, and increased the power of the aristocratic senate of five hundred. He established under good regulations the two democratic Heliaia. He divided the citizens according to their property, into four classes; the magistrates could only be chosen from the three first, of which the members could never want leisure for the necessary attention to affairs. It was not lawful to elect any man who was in debt to the State; the son of a citizen who died insolvent could neither enter the popular assembly, nor speak before the judges, nor fill any office, till he had discharged his father's debts. Any man, who had beaten his parents, or had not supported them in their old age, provided that they had caused him to learn any trade, for this was required; spendthrifts, or those who had suffered prostitution, or had absented themselves from war, or thrown away their arms, were all placed in the same predicament. Only married men, and those possessed of estates could become generals or popular orators. Under these regulations, the choice of an appointed number of senators and magistrates was left to the districts and tribes, but they were limited to those who possessed certain qualifications. If several men thus endowed had been proposed, the lot decided the choice. All offices appeared to be bestowed by the multitude, but the laws more powerful than their will did not allow them, at least in this point, any influence that might be detrimental to the State. Every man was interested in the laws, and all the citizens held themselves bound for their preservation; they could not fail to be attached to them, since it was ordained by one of the first, that any man who sought to abolish the democracy should forfeit protection and be deprived of all his property, a tenth part of which was dedicated to the gods. If a tyranny should arise, the assassin of the tyrant was rewarded with the half of his estate, and the republic was bound to support and honor his posterity forever. Thus it was part of the oath of the Heliastæ to make the laws and ordinances of the people and the senate the only measure of their judgment, and never to acquiesce in tyranny, oligarchy, or in a new abolition of debt, (for they had been obliged

in the beginning to suffer this measure to take place once,) to resist any division of property destructive of private rights, or the lengthening of the appointed period of any office, or the re-election of any magistrate who had failed to give an account of his administration. In sudden emergencies the senate had power to make decrees, but they were not valid more than a year. New laws must be proposed in the first place to the magistrates; if they were approved by them, they were hung up publicly near the statues of the tutelar god of each tribe; lastly, the public scribe read them to the popular assembly on certain days appointed for the purpose. The Thesmothetæ alone, who were more than thirty years old, and were bound by the oath of the magistrates, had a right to invent laws. No new law could be introduced until the old one had been solemnly abolished; and before this could happen, the latter must be publicly defended by five citizens nominated for that purpose.

Every thing being subjected to scrutiny, election and the lot could not introduce any man to an important trust, or to any office which lasted more than thirty days, without his passing under an examination before the magistrates. No individual, even a priest, could dispose of his person and estate, until he had given a satisfactory account of his conduct before the Areopagus and the senate. The Thesmothetæ were obliged once a year to examine the code of laws, in order to discover if any thing contradictory or any double law on the same subject had introduced itself, or if any thing obsolete was therein contained.

The legislative power belonged only to the citizens; no foreigner dared, under pain of death, to appear in the popular assembly; it was equally forbidden to any person who had been condemned for corwardice, or brutality of manners.

In order to be made a citizen, six thousand votes were required, and even if a greater number had approved the candidate, he was obliged to undergo an examination before the magistrates. The new citizen himself could never attain, during his whole life, to the priesthood or archonship.

The ostracism is well known, by which a number of votes being obtained against a powerful citizen, he could be banished from the city for ten years, without any crime being alleged against him, or permission given him to plead his cause. The same custom prevailed at Argos. This practice, which was introduced against men who were more powerful than the laws, was often a destructive tool in the hands of factious demagogues, and good citizens often imprecated this institution on the enemies of Athens. The spirit of faction which was favored by it, and the arts of intrigue which were necessary even to truly great men for their protection, were the main causes of the fall of the republic. The only thing that can be said for the ostracism is, that on account of the facility with which great citizens became oppressors of the people, this honorable oppression, to which innocent persons were liable for a time, appeared a less evil than the danger which the whole State might incur from a private individual. In cases of collision, the interests of the smaller number must yield to that of the country.

So long as the manners of the nation remained uncorrupt, the bad consequences of democracy were less observable; and we must allow that the laws did much towards the forming of public morals. No State was more strenuous in religious worship, and public proceedings were for the most part rendered solemn by the celebration of pious observances. The kings and the Eumolpidæ took care that nothing indecent or disorderly should offend the gods. Persons in authority watched over education; even the hours of bodily exercise were long superintended: chaste manners were required for the fulfilling of various religious rites, and even for civil affairs. Although it is impossible wholly to prevent excesses, yet wise men have thought it proper to forbid them, because whatever must be done in secret will be more seldom perpetrated, and not by all. In general, it was the fundamental maxim of the lawgiver, that man ought to exert his utmost power in order to obtain dominion over his passions, and to raise himself above the instincts which he has in common with the brutes. The Athenians perceived that the observance

of temperance has much influence in preserving and perfecting morals. The punishment of adultery depended almost entirely on the injured husband; only it was not in his power wholly to forgive. Women convicted of this crime, were excluded from the worship of the gods; when an adultress made her appearance in the temple, her ornaments were stripped off; she was driven out with stripes, and the man who had introduced her, was punished with death. It is related of Hippomenes, a citizen of the royal house, that having detected a man in improper familiarity with his unmarried daughter, he crushed him to pieces under the wheels of a chariot in which he sat with the young woman, whom he afterwards caused to be walled up alive with a horse. Marriage indeed was accompanied among the ancients with so much religious solemnity, that the violation of its laws seemed to involve contempt of the gods. Drunkenness was a crime in Lacedemon, but in Athens it was only forbidden to a slave to drink in a public tavern.

Every age had its overseers and respective duties under the superintendence of the Areopagus. All young people did not receive the same education, but every one that which was adapted to the circumstances of his fortune. Children in general learnt reading and writing, arithmetic, and the songs in praise of the gods, the heroes, and their ancestors. Afterwards the poor were occupied with agriculture and commerce; the rich chiefly with military exercises, and especially that cavalry exercise which became so celebrated in this State. Many hours were occupied with the chase, the gymnastic exercises, and afterwards with philosophy.

The poorer citizens became tenants to the rich; the latter sought the favor of the people by fair contracts; this they acquired by a display of magnificence which afforded employment to numerous artizans. They were obliged to endeavor to please the meanest individual, who gave his vote for conferring the highest dignities. The command of the armies especially was given by simple elections, and here the open vote prevailed. This custom was better than that of the Swiss federation, in which much more

regard is paid to the canton from which each general is chosen, than to the qualifications which he ought to possess.

Solon's laws gave to each class of the citizens the rights that were most adapted to their condition. Those possessed of the most ample fortune, who were chiefly interested in the maintenance of order, were eligible to the senate of five hundred, and the most noble to the Areopagus. This court had a kind of superintendence over the public manners. The rites of religion, arms, and the revenues, were under the administration of the senate, which also proposed to the people wars, peace, treaties, and all affairs that related to the allies; it managed all business belonging to the city and country, as well as the courts of justice, and had the high concerns of the State under its control. The popular assembly contained at different times from twenty thousand to thirty thousand citizens. In order that no man might be injured in his person, a law was established which extended to the conduct enjoined towards slaves. It was forbidden to strike them; they wore no livery, and they were not obliged to give place when they met a free man. No city possessed so many well-ordered schools, baths, or dining-halls, for the districts or fraternities.

Yet the Attic government was not so lasting as the Lacedemonian; those who were always under the necessity of pleasing the many, flattered their passions too much, and thereby introduced a corruption of manners. The greatest talents were required in order to withstand the inclinations of the multitude in so great a city. How much more was this the case when Athens became mistress of the sea! when a great number of mariners without morals, necessitous and greedy, came into the popular assembly! Henceforward the people paid little respect to virtue or honor, but were solely intent on exercising to the utmost their democratic power. Honest men were soon unwilling to acknowledge a country thus governed as their own. "In an aristocracy," says Xenophon, "extravagance and injustice have less prevalence; a multitude is in poverty more depraved, in prosperity of insupportable

insolence, and altogether intent upon selfish gain and licentiousness. Where it governs, who can oblige it to render an account? Few great Athenians have died a natural death in their native country. No city domineered more violently, or took more fearful vengeance for the least resistance to its sway; many of its public judgments were atrocious and unstable; and treachery often lurked behind the scene. For these reasons Athens could not maintain the dominion of Greece during eighty years, and shortly fell so low, that the remembrance of former dignity gave place to the basest adulation.

This celebrated city was built upon an uneven foundation; its streets were irregular and very narrow, and few private houses were remarkably splendid. On the other hand, all ages have beheld with delight its public buildings, and have admired the wonderful effects which the creative power of genius can display in metal and stone.

The Athenians possessed a greater share of acuteness, and the Lacedemonians greater strength. Orators of the most splendid talents rivalled each other in ruling the Athenian people, among whom every individual aimed at displaying his genius in political affairs; the pursuit of the Lacedemonians was to govern the instincts of nature, and to maintain their freedom and their constitution. The Athenian possessed a thousand qualifications; the Lacedemonian cared for nothing but liberty. They maintained this during a long period; the Athenians, when they had lost every thing else, preserved their wit, and taste, and philosophy, and hence they maintained a sort of splendor until the total extinction of the ancient world. Their minds abounded with a profusion of ideas; the citizens of Lycurgus had a few deeply engraven principles of which they were so much the more tenacious, while their rivals were subject to incessant change.

The great Pericles praised his fellow-citizens of Athens, for having lost nothing of their warlike spirit through the cultivation of the sciences; yet the latter had not then attained any great advancement among people who trembled superstitiously at an eclipse of the sun; and in valor the Athenians were not equal to the foot-soldiers of

the Lacedemonians. His commendation of the Athenians, that in times of war they no longer amused themselves with the flowers of oratory, was intended as an admonition. Though Pericles flattered them on the ground that each mechanic knew something of the affairs of the State, yet it is not to be forgotten that this half knowledge operated greatly to the ruin of the republic; each individual fancied that he understood every thing as well as the most distinguished statesman. Athens never flourished more than when the thundering eloquence and the irreproachable virtue of a Pericles held the multitude in control.

The Attic republic was more splendid than any others in Greece; in essential excellences the Spartan may claim some pre-eminence. Happy the State, happy the man who unites the fine qualities of the Athenians with the magnanimity of the good citizens of Sparta! Loftiness of mind, heroism, the manly freedom and open character of the Spartan, is justly the first object; but after you have learnt to have as few wants as possible, neglect not to become capable of many great and noble actions. Republics may hence learn to be moderate in freedom; and when it is their fate to exist no longer, still to preserve their honorable name.

The governments of the ancients were in closer relation to the times, to the countries, and the people under their sway than ours. The Roman law, foreign to our manners, has introduced among us many disadvantages. Although the ancients spoke less than we of the love of mankind in general, although they held slaves and foreigners in much less regard, yet the spirit of patriotism prevailed more among them. In those little States, or more properly towns, men were nearer to the first family relations, and therefore no man ever thought of introducing foreign manners. Accordingly all public affairs, characters, customs, and books were in the character of the times, and of each nation, till Alexander and Rome affected a general intermixture. It was then also for the first time, that writers lost the ancient simplicity and popularity of their style.

SECTION VI.

THE OTHER REPUBLICS IN GREECE AND LESSER ASIA.

After the Heraclidæ had secured their possessions in the Peloponnesus, and the government of Athens became settled under archons, the political system of Greece acquired stability. Men of adventurous spirit, when their country no longer afforded a field for revolutionary enterprises, employed themselves in founding colonies.

Argos received laws from the Heraclide Phidon, who gave to all citizens able to maintain a horse, a share in the supreme power. He also encouraged industry; he appears to have given to weights and measures values, which became generally established, and caused money to be coined in the island of Ægina.

Philolaus, an illustrious Corinthian, was the law-giver of the Bœotian Thebes. The principle of his system was to begin with the education of youth, and he sought to maintain equality of wealth by imposing difficulties on the alienation of hereditary property. This commonwealth was administered by wise men, who by their moderation obtained for it a state of undisturbed security during two hundred and fifty years.

Corinth itself was governed by its aristocracy, until Cypselus, father of the wise Periander, became a demagogue, and thereby acquired the sovereignty. At first he ruled without a guard, and was oppressive only to the great; but soon, for the maintenance of his power, he was induced to have recourse to military support and taxation. He now vowed to bestow on the Delphic god a tenth part of the wealth of Corinth; it was therefore necessary that each citizen should give a faithful account of his possessions; according to which Cypselus settled the impost Corinth was already at this time a rich commercial city. The first example of a sea-fight was given by the Corinthians in a war against the Corcyreans.

The tax upon merchandize was a chief branch of the revenue. Already the exuberance of wealth and the laws,

which left property too much at the arbitrary disposal of individuals, gave occasion to extravagant luxury, which the frugal Cypselus wished to reduce within limits: for this purpose he erected a commission to observe that no man in his expenditure exceeded his income.

B. C. 734. During this period the Heraclides of Argos, in a valley of Pœonia, founded the kingdom of the Macedonians, who within four centuries subdued the barbarous nations in their vicinity, and amidst these wars prepared themselves for the conquest of the world.

B. C. 775. The renewal of the games celebrated at a temple of the Olympian Jupiter, on the river Alpheus in Elis, was at that time a more important event for Greece, as by it the growing republics obtained a point of union, where the Greeks acquired a national feeling. The fame and advantages which strength, agility and genius gave to the conquerors, roused the exertions of talent; the nation paid them honors, and their native city gave each of them his maintenance for life. In these assemblies the name of philosophers was heard for the first time; and here the golden statue in the Delphic temple was decreed to the orator Gorgias, and an impulse was given to the display of arts and magnificence. But the champions celebrated by Pindar were neither the liberators nor the warriors of Greece; for exercises, followed too vehemently, quickly exhausted the strength, and it happened only twice or thrice that he who had been conqueror in his youth was able to obtain the same honor in his manhood; yet the national respect for such talents gave to all freemen a fondness for those exercises, the moderate use of which maintained the vigor of body and mind. Slaves were not allowed to engage in these contests.

The Asiatic coasts and the adjacent islands had suffered much in the Trojan war. In the course of the following century, while Greece was in a state of agitation, many cities were founded in Lesbos and on the coast. Already Cumæ and Smyrna flourished, when the god of Delphi and the council of the Amphictyons confided to Neleus, a son of the last Athenian king, the colonization of Ionia. B. C. 1071. Thirteen colonies were founded within a

short space of time, in this luxuriant and romantic country; they drove out the Carian shepherds who fed their flocks in the meadows of Mæander, and the swans of the Cayster delighted in the gardens which began to bloom over its banks. The verdant hills, the gentle climate of Ionia, watered by numerous rivers, and the coast abounding in secure havens, attracted and called forth a numerous population. The people, crowded in their splendid cities, soon found themselves under the necessity of sending out colonies. Who is not acquainted with Ephesus, Teios, Colophon, Phocæa, Priene, Samos, Chios, Miletos, cities abounding in genius, luxury, and every polite refinement? They had a mutual bond of connexion at the temple of the god who had conducted them over the waters of the Ægean sea; the fane of Neptune, on the promontory of Mycale, was the Panionium, or place of assembly for their deputies and chief citizens. Hither no stranger was admitted; and even the more ancient Smyrna first obtained the privilege, after nine hundred years, through the powerful influence of a king of Pergamus. The bonds of fraternity were more lasting than the independence of these cities, although they were peopled from more than one region, and spoke the Greek language in all its four dialects.

Two other federal republics, of a similar description, formed themselves in the neighborhood of Ionia. Twelve cities arose in the more fruitful though less beautiful Œolia, to which belonged Cuma and originally Smyrna; there were six Œolian cities in Lesbos, and one in the isle of Tenedos; others flourished on Mount Ida, and a little Venice grew on the cluster called the hundred islands. The Dorian confederacy to the southward of Ionia consisted of six towns; one was Cnidos; another adorned the isle of Cos; but Halicarnassus was the chief city. This town was excluded from the league on the following occasion; the champions who contended in the social games at the Triopicum had vowed tripods to the national god, when one of the victors who came from Halicarnassus refused to pay to Apollo the price of his victory, and his fellow-citizens supported him in his impiety.

These thirty or thirty-one cities in their three confederations adorned the coasts of Lesser Asia from the Sigeian promontory to the spot where all the Greeks admired the celestial Venus of Cnidos. They established colonies in the present Taurus, on all the shore of Pontus, on the Borysthenes, and the Tyras.* Sestos and Abydos (the Dardanelles) are works of the Œolians; and the flourishing cities of Heraclea, Sinope, Amastris, were founded by the Ionians. B. C. 747. Byzance, which lay in the most important site for commerce and dominion was peopled from Corinth and Megara; this was in after ages the second Rome, mistress of the world almost as many years as Rome herself. Through the whole of the Black Sea and the Mæotic marsh, a thriving commerce was carried on; and there are even traces which indicate that it extended from nation to nation far into the north towards the Baltic gulf.†

SECTION VII.

COLONIES IN ITALY AND SICILY.

Another enterprise of which Theocles from Athens made a beginning, and which was supported by the Dorians and Ionians from the islands and the continent, gave origin to most of the Sicilian towns. The Corinthian Archias founded Syracuse; the Samians and Naxians, Messene.‡ The latter passed over the strait, and built Rhegium. The delightful climate and the fruitful soil of Sicily gave in a short time to the colonies in that island an extent and opulence which the cities of lower Italy or Magna Grecia alone could rival.

In the latter country an Argive citizen, against the laws of his native city, which condemned to death whoever pro-

* Periplus Ponti Euxin. et Mœotid. Palud. in Hudson's Geograph. Vet. Scymnus Chius.

† Uphagen. Parerga Hist.

‡ Marm. Arundel. Scymnus.

moted emigration, founded Croton, (B. C. 709.) a powerful republic, and the successful rival of the neighboring and voluptuous Sybaris, founded by the Trœzenians and other Achæans; the gardens of Pæstrum were planted by the effeminate hands of the Sybarites; a population amounting to one hundred thousand souls gave to this city the ambition of becoming, (B. C. 719.) instead of Olympia, the seat of the games celebrated in common by the Greeks.

B. C. 645. The Lacedemonians followed the example of the other Grecian tribes, and established the colony of Tarentum, the government and manners of which soon declined greatly from the good order and manly character of the mother country. It would appear indeed that its founders, the Parthenié, had even in Sparta endeavored to pervert the institutions of Lycurgus.

The tradition, that the Samnites and Sabines were branches of the Laconian stem, appears to have had no firmer foundation than a certain resemblance in character and manners.

The Cnidians and Œolians founded the Italian Cuma and Lipara, where the old god of the winds held the contending storms imprisoned in the jaws of a mountain which often vomited forth flames. Neapolis received its slender beginning from the Marsians, who descended from the mountains to settle on the more sheltered coast.

SECTION VIII.

ROME

Unobserved by the States of Greece, a republic was gradually formed in Italy, whose people, great in wisdom and courage, finally displayed more than all other nations what firmness of character and military discipline can effect. We are here to speak of Rome, whose arms or laws have domineered over the greater portion of our civilized world; and in whose history every statesman, soldier, and citizen find exhibited the most impressive examples, whether for imitation or for warning; a State in which Nature exerted

herself to show how far the powers of man are able to prevail over the most unfavorable circumstances. The eternal Rome yet stands! The majesty of her ruins inspires a sentiment of awe; the statues of her heroes still elevate the soul; we wonder at the indestructible monuments of her genius and taste, by which the dominion of the human mind was as far extended as her empire by the force of arms. Pliny rightly named her the mistress of the world and the metropolis of the habitable earth, destined by the gods to unite the scattered races of men, to civilize and to govern them.

Rome appears to have been founded in the seven hundred and fifty-third year before the Christian era, in the second or third of the sixteenth Olympiad. The elder Cato and Varro, the most learned Romans, agree within a few years in this computation. Far more ancient was the settlement in the Palatine mountain, and the cultivation of the neighboring district by Arcadians and other Greeks as well as by Trojan colonists. The thirteen hamlets also around the mountain of Latium, of which the town of Alba Longa was the chief, were more ancient than Rome. The fear of piracy which infested the roads and coasts, a profession at that time honorable, induced the first Romans to erect their city on hills, which were accessible to the sea by going up the Tiber, but lay at the distance of one hundred and twenty stadia from the shore. From the Colline hill Romulus drew his wall over the Viminal to the Esquiline; he made a ditch, formed the wall of the earth thrown out of it, and secured it with bulwarks of stone. By degrees the seven hills were included, from which it was henceforward easy to observe and to frustrate hostile movements. A morass at that time divided the Palatine and Capitoline mounts, and a forest separated the latter from the western Aventine, over against which was the Cœlian hill; the two latter are of similar form, and five or six times as long as they are broad. The city had four districts, but the Tuscan hamlet was presently added by the Tyrrhenians, and a Sabine settlement was made on the Capitoline hill. The original inhabitants were of several nations; and they remained divided; the constitution of

Rome gave to the most different people who were included within the city a similar genius; whatever excellence each tribe brought with it in military affairs, in religion, or in political forms, was imparted to the commonwealth, and all acquired in return the feeling of Roman citizens.

The oldest chiefs of the Romans promoted this flowing in of strangers, and by their conquests and the friendly reception which they gave to the vanquished, and to foreigners in general, soon acquired for their State such a pre-eminence in power, that men of all nations were glad to lose their former distinctions in order to become Romans. Thus many thousand Italians flocked to Rome, induced by poverty or a roving disposition, by the destruction of their native cities, or frequently by the fear of punishment for some daring crime.

The constitution bore traces of Grecian manners, but such as both Greeks and Italians may have derived from a common source. Cæcilius Quadrigarius sought perhaps too eagerly to represent Latium as a Grecian State, intending to confer honor upon it by that name. Dionysius the Halicarnassian likewise exerted much ingenuity to show that the Romans were Greeks, wishing to have it understood that the dominion of the world was in the hands of his countrymen. It is true also that Demetrius Poliorcetes in his writings mentioned the Romans as Greeks, but his opinion would be more decisive concerning the power of a battering-ram than a point of antiquity. Rome had already become great and powerful when it was first known to Greece. Before Hieronymus of Cordia, the friend of Eumenes, its name is not mentioned in any writing of undoubted authority. The fate of the Romans was similar to that of the Tyrrhenians, whose origin the old authors deduced from Asia, while the name of their founder was unknown even to tradition,* and every thing in their history leads us back to a remote and obscure antiquity.

The first magistrates of the Roman commonwealth were called kings, but the government in reality depended on the laws. The senate elected the kings, and the people con-

* Tages meant only Prince or Man. CICERO, Divin. ii.

firmed their choice, till Servius Tullius ruled by means of the people without the senate, and Tarquin seized the government in his own hands to the exclusion of the people. At the period of its foundation, Rome contained three thousand freemen capable of bearing arms, of whom three hundred served on horseback; they were divided into three bodies or tribes, and a tribune commanded each; these bodies were called selections, or, in Latin, legions. Each tribe was separated into curiæ or companies of one hundred, and each of the latter into decuriæ or tens. No man was admitted into the army who did not possess two acres or jugera of land. The territory was divided into small portions, and a part was set aside for the service of the altar, while there were common lands for the free use of the poor. As families multiplied, a third part or two thirds of the territories of conquered towns were allotted to those citizens who were not yet possessed of estates.

The pressing want of more extensive boundaries or of a more fruitful soil, while arts and commerce, which at Rome never attained a high perfection, were as yet in their infancy, soon involved this city, which from its beginning contained a great population, in dangerous wars. Colonies were founded in the conquered countries, and on the other hand the chief persons of the conquered States became Roman citizens. Indissoluble and at the same time agreeable bonds were thus established; the cultivation of land increased, and the colonies served the purpose of garrisons. During some hundred years the Romans were warriors and husbandmen; and so long as they continued in these habits, and spent the greater part of their lives in the country, the purity and simplicity of their manners were preserved.

Romulus lived to see his three thousand three hundred men already increased to forty-six thousand who served on foot, and a thousand cavalry. He found it impossible, either by his own authority or by that of a senate composed of the heads of families, to restrain the multitude of impetuous youth, and he called the gods to his assistance. No other people ever worshipped the gods more religiously or with greater constancy than the Romans. Three cen-

turies after scepticism had begun to flourish at Athens, Cicero for the first time at Rome made the nature of the gods the subject of philosophical discussion. Scepticism was introduced by the Epicureans about the time of Sylla. The religion of the old Romans was grave and chaste, their discourses did not turn as those of the Greeks on Jupiter's amours and the immoralities of the gods. Bacchanalians were for a long time prohibited, and most of the festivals had relation to rural affairs, while they were distinguished by purity of manners, temperance, and rustic mirth. The people were cheered in the case of signal misfortunes by solemn feasts, and they were never permitted to doubt of the favor of the gods to the eternal city. On the other hand religious sentiment pervaded even the habits of private life; for the legislators wished that each individual should feel himself in the presence and in the hands of the governors of nature and of fate. Nightly ceremonies attended by both sexes, and mystic associations, were forbidden by the laws. Sixty men possessed of property and renowned for the integrity of their lives were chosen from the first families to constitute the priesthood which Romulus ordained. It was required that they should all be upwards of fifty years of age, and they were chosen by the assembled people divided into their curiæ, over each of which a tutelar god presided. Numa multiplied the rites and ceremonies of religion, and introduced augurs or soothsayers.

Henceforth Rome possessed eight classes of men, consecrated to the purposes of religion. The first of these were the *curiones* or priests appropriated to the gods of the curiæ; the *flamines* served the higher deities; the *kings* were obliged to perform certain sacrifices, or at least their presence at such ceremonies was required; the *augurs* or interpreters of omens soon became celebrated, and six noble youths were always instructed in their art by Tyrrhenian masters; the principles of their science contained innumerable exceptions, which were convenient to the designs of the ruling magistracy; the augurs could dissolve elective assemblies, annul decrees and laws, or give and take away the power of speaking in public; when the consulate was

established, they could oblige the consuls to lay down their dignity, and they still retained their respect and influence after Rome had become sovereign of the world; four and afterwards six *vestal* virgins, chosen by the pontiffs out of noble families, watched over the perpetual fire, the inaccessible tutelar divinity of Rome, and in the house of a citizen of the first dignity, performed sacrifices to the 'Bona Dea,' whose name was concealed in mystery; the earth represented her temple, and the vestal flame was a type of the genial warmth which enlivens nature.* During thirty years the vestals were obliged to maintain an inviolable virginity. The *salian* priests were at first patricians, and always free citizens; they danced in arms to the honor of the gods like the Cretan curetes; a practice which the priests and monastics of many eastern nations have continued from the oldest times to the present day. Men have fancied themselves approaching to the perception of uncreated light, when by deep and devout contemplations or by whirling motions of the body they have deprived themselves of all consciousness of sensation. The *feciales*, who had the superintendence of the laws of war, and of treaties and alliances, were the offspring of illustrious families. The *pontiffs* presided over the whole religious constitution; their establishment would seem to reach up to those remote times when, before Hercules, or before civilized strangers tamed the barbarians of Latium, twenty-four or thirty men were annually thrown from a bridge into the Tiber, an usage which was preserved in the custom of throwing as many human figures formed of willow twigs. Was it the practice of the ancients on a certain day, as it is yet with the Siberian hordes, to offer up the burdensome and useless life of aged men to the river-gods? or did they believe, like the northern nations, that the effusion of human blood is requisite in order to reconcile the gods to sinful mortals? Was it the memorial of an act which the Trojans had vowed or practised in revenge against the Greeks, or which Evander perpetrated against the Argive rivals of his family?† The pontiffs were the

* 'Nec tu aliud Vestam quam vivam intelligi Flammam.' OVID.
† The figures were called Argei.

most dignified college; they were accountable neither to the senate nor to the people, and they filled the vacant places in their body by coöptation.

The most ancient solemnities were originally the festive meetings of a pastoral people; afterwards, when the priests arranged the affairs of agriculture, they fixed the time when the sowing, the harvest, the vintage, and other rustic business should be solemnized and entered upon. Each district had particular festivals with reference to its situation and mode of culture. Every year the chief men commended the most industrious and intelligent farmers, and publicly named the most indolent. The offerings to the gods were simple and innocent. At other festivals families came together and mutually forgot their animosities. On the Palatine hill there was a chapel of the goddess who reconciled husbands and wives. The people celebrated the day of Anna Perenna with merriment under the open sky, or under tents in the meadows on the banks of Tiber. Thus were barbarians brought by music to refinement through the operation of noble and gentle sentiments; thus religion supported the constitution, imparted solemnity to the habits of life, and afforded to the dying the hope of an endless existence.

The private life of the Roman citizen was an exact copy of his public life. Hence the great and never terminating authority of parents; because good order in peace and success in war depend on the habit of perfect obedience. Among barbarous nations the parental authority did not reach beyond childhood; among the Greeks it terminated when the son was married or enrolled in his tribe, and extended only to the power of disinheriting; while among the Romans the father could inflict capital punishment upon a son long after he had attained manhood, and even while he was invested with public dignities. This law was severe, but the times rendered it innocent, and the tone of manners mitigated its exercise. The husband and wife lived in a community of possessions, and when the father died the mother inherited a child's portion, or the whole when there were no children, or when her husband was intestate; because the mother of the family is as much

concerned, and ought to feel as lively an interest, as the husband in promoting its welfare. Handicrafts and trades of gain fell at Rome to the lot of slaves and strangers; that the citizens of the rising republic might neither be rendered effeminate by a sedentary life at home, nor unworthily dependent on each other. The poorer and meaner citizens were indeed dependent as clients on powerful patrons, and the laws held this relation so sacred, that a patron and his client never appeared as witnesses against each other under pain of death, nor was one allowed to plead against or to sit as judge over the other. The patron conducted the affairs of his client as his own, contributed to the portioning of his daughters, to the defrayment of his public expenses, and when his client fell into the hand of an enemy provided for his ransom.

Such was the constitution of ancient Rome. At the head of it were kings, or when they were absent in military expeditions, prefects whom the kings appointed, and a senate, which at the beginning consisted of a hundred patricians elected by the tribes and curiæ. The governing powers were so equally balanced that the senate could neither make wars and enact laws, nor distribute high offices without the consent of the people, nor the latter effect any thing without summoning assemblies regulated by prescript, while the king had neither authority as military chief to declare war by his own decree, nor as supreme judge to condemn an individual to death by arbitrary sentence.

The Roman kings must have possessed extraordinary talents, otherwise how could they have been able to found a State which without territory, without a fleet, in the midst of formidable foes and treacherous friends, not only maintained its often struggling independence, but acquired in a few centuries the sovereignty of all Italy? Rome knew not as yet the names of the nations which were doomed afterwards to fall prostrate before her arms, but her constancy and perseverance are coeval with the origin of her history.

SECTION IX.

CARTHAGE.

During the same interval Carthage was founded in Africa by the Phœnicians, who had formed settlements on this coast from the earliest times. Even in the present day we recognize in the names of the Falasthin, of Chus, and of other tribes who wander around the mountains of Atlas, the posterity of the Philistines, and of the races that were driven out of Canaan by Joshua the successor of Moses. The coasts of Africa attracted settlers by their extraordinary fertility.

From the southern extremity of the vast peninsula of Africa a ridge of very high mountains appears to take a northerly direction, and to send off immense branches to the east and west. The western range is called Atlas or Daran; the eastern is known by the name of the Mountains of the Moon, in which are situated the sources of the Nile. At the foot of these mountains are interminable deserts of sand. The central region is perhaps now burnt by the perpetual influence of the solar fire; but after the lapse of some thousand years, if the habitable world should last so long, and should gradually grow colder, as Buffon conjectures, it may become the seat of living nature. The coasts have ever abounded in corn. Wild beasts were driven by the ancient hunters out of the inland tracts. There were formerly in Numidia from five to ten times as many lions as at present, and we may hence conclude that the population of the country has increased.

On a rock in the back ground of a bay, Carthage rose to view; Byrsa was the name of the higher part of the city, and the lower streets on the narrow tongue of land, which formed the double haven, had the name of Megara; the tract adjoining the great haven was called Kotton, and an island lay opposite to the projecting point, which was also inhabited, The two chief magistrates of Carthage were called *suffetes* or judges; their authority was annual, and they were elected from the oldest and most opulent families, who had accordingly leisure to bestow their attention

on affairs of State. In general riches, and whatever leads to the acquisition of them, were held in the highest estimation among the Carthaginians, who had both the good and bad qualities that are connected with mercantile habits. Under the suffetes five officers had the direction of the most important affairs, who may be compared to the Savi of Venice; they elected each other, and those who had preceded them in their office, and who had appointed them to it, were the consessors or assistants of the five; they received no pay, in order that none except the rich might seek this dignity. They nominated the senate, which consisted of one hundred members. This body and the five, when they agreed unanimously, were omnipotent in the State; but if they differed in opinion, the matter was brought before the people, who could give their preference to either opinion, or modify a conclusion adopted by the others. When the public morals became corrupted by wealth, the State suffered at the same time the evils of oligarchy and of ochlocracy. Every thing was venal; the party leaders thought only of themselves, and the Commonwealth was neglected.

Before this period the Carthaginians had become, by their superior intelligence, masters of three hundred neighboring cities. They undertook many distant enterprises, by means of which the multitude of the poorest citizens was lessened, and their pernicious influence on the State counteracted.

The celebrated mines of Old Spain were worked by the Carthaginians, and with the gold procured from these they hired Spanish, Ligurian, and Italian soldiers. Hence the people soon became unwarlike, and consequently suspicious of their subjects, and Carthage oppressed the African cities, so that in time of war they were always eager to receive the enemy. The island of Sardinia, which the Carthaginians had subdued, was entirely laid waste, and it was forbidden under pain of death to restore its cultivation. They were afraid of its acquiring a prosperous state, because it had resources for preserving its independence. This anciently peopled and flourishing island, into which Bias of Priene wished to transplant the whole federal republic of Ionia,

became so barbarised that it never again was able to emerge from obscurity. The descendents of the Grecian colonists fled into the mountains, lived in freedom, and became barbarous. Sardinia has ever since continued in this state.

The Carthagmians forbade the scarcely-discovered passage to the Canary islands; they seemed to fear lest their people might discover a better country than Carthage; and gladly would they have shut the world against it, in order to subject it more completely to their arbitrary disposal. Yet the thirst of gain induced them not to give up their maritime expeditions. They, however, kept their discoveries secret in order to be secure against competitors, and it is hence impossible to ascertain the extent of their voyages. They held Sicily, Malta, Golo, the Belearic isles, Sardinia, Corsica, and Spain under their sway; they frequented the west of Africa, as far as the Cape de Verd, and traversed the European seas to the British isles. We are not sufficiently acquainted with the date of the abstract from Hanno's apparently very ancient voyage. Scylax, who is said to have been an admiral of the Persian king Darius, mentions colonies which the former had no knowledge of, and found the Negro hordes more civilized; but it is also uncertain to what period his voyage belongs. As little is it known how far Himilco proceeded towards the northwest.

The ancient navigators complained that a number of shallows infested these regions of the ocean, and there was probably some geographical foundation for this remark. We know that Plato, on the authority of ancient traditions, which he obtained from the priests of Sais in Egypt, makes mention of a country situated beyond the Pillars of Hercules, which during a tempestuous night sunk into the deep. The same author notices also a country beyond the Atlantic ocean, and a number of islands which lie near its coast, and the tradition of a great continent fully as large as the old world was not unknown to Aristotle. It is remarkable that later navigators have observed many shallows nearly connected together, in a line stretching from Spain through the Azores towards Newfoundland. It is possible that, after the submersion of the tract of land which served

for the connexion of the two continents, navigation might become excessively difficult until the overflowed countries gradually sunk to a greater depth; and thus at the same time gave occasion to the retiring of the waters from the European coasts.* It would be too bold to draw an inference for the monument apparently Punic, which was found some years ago in the forests behind Boston. It is possible that some Tyrians or Carthaginians, thrown by storms upon unknown coasts, uncertain if ever the same tracts might be again discovered, chose to leave this monument of their adventures. Of their further expeditions there is no trace, nor do we know whether these adventurers returned, or what attraction the marshy feet of the American mountains held out to the avarice of the Phœnicians.

In the midst of many commercial enterprises the Carthaginians never lost their barbarism. It is needless to mention the unutterable cruelties perpetrated at Himera, Selinus, Agrigentum, or the executions of their generals, who were crucified for fighting unsuccessfully, or even for displaying too much valor. How could a religion, which in times of public alarm placed three hundred noble youths in the blazing arms of Moloch, soften the ferocity of its wretched devotees?

SECTION X.

CONCLUSION.

We have thus traced the outlines of the chief republics that were founded during the interval above defined. The

* It is certain that the Mediterranean had formerly a much higher level than it now has, and that its waters covered a great portion of the present coasts. The province of Valencia, and some other parts of the Spanish peninsula, were then under the sea, which washed the feet of the mountains of Castile. Perhaps the gradual retiring of the waters has given birth to Lower Egypt. The ancients assert it to have been gained by deposits of soil from the Nile, but great difficulties attend this hypothesis, and the dispute on this subject admits of a more probable solution.

The Baltic is well known to have exceeded its modern limits in a still greater degree than the Mediterranean. T.

wanderings of the northern nations are unknown, and memorials were scarcely preserved in Asia of the movements of those Scythian hordes, who inundated the plains of Lydia, Media, and perhaps all that quarter of the world as far as Galilee. Taunak was the name of the first leader of those tribes, who have so often poured themselves down from the mountains of Gog and Magog, or Great Tartary, over the civilized world.

We confine our attention to the Greeks and Romans; our customs, laws, and arts, came from Italy, whither they were introduced by the Greeks. These are the instruments by which the smallest division of the globe influences the fate of all nations; these the powers which have displayed human nature in all its dignity, and the contemplation of which is most interesting to the citizen of the world, because that nation which possesses in the most eminent degree the qualities to which Europe is indebted for her preponderance, must become the first among European States. Let us follow the course of this light; we shall finally see a spark of it enliven the gloomy North; in the sixteenth and seventeenth century we shall behold a blaze go forth into the darkest regions of the earth, which by degrees awakens the most inert, but, together with the prejudices of barbarous antiquity, threatens to consume the venerable remains of ancient virtue.

BOOK III.

SOURCES OF THE GRECIAN HISTORY.

SECTION I.

The Athenians even during the life of Solon had fallen under the tyranny of Pisistratus; they were liberated from it after two generations in the same year in which Brutus

banished the kings from Rome and established the consulate. The revolution in Attica occasioned a war with Persia, during which the Athenians, who were the victorious party, became the most powerful of the Grecian republics by sea and land. The strength of the Grecian States was afterwards exhausted by intestine wars, and they were the more easily overpowered by Philip, king of Macedon. His son Alexander, having thus attained extensive power, conquered the empire of the Persians. In all these affairs the Romans took no part, but separately increased their own strength to that degree, that in the sequel they were able completely to vanquish the Macedonians, the conquerors of Greece. This success gave the Romans an extent of power and a degree of opulence which the purity of their primitive manners could not withstand: with their virtue they lost their freedom, and fell under the dominion of a single despot.

From the Persian war to the battle of Chæronea, where the liberty of Greece expired, a hundred and forty-two years elapsed; during which period Athens possessed the chief power seventy-five years, Lacedemon thirty-four years; during eight years Epaminondas, the victorious hero of Leuctra, held by his merit an ascendency over the Greeks; and for the remaining twenty-five years, all was in anarchy and confusion. The dominion of Philip and Alexander continued not more than fifteen years, and the States that were formed out of its ruins had their complete termination two hundred and ninety-three years after Alexander's death.

Rome remained two hundred and forty-four years under its kings, and two hundred and forty-four years were spent in subduing the Italian nations. During this latter period Rome and Carthage struggled sixty-four years for the superiority, until the battle of Zama decided the contest; sixty-eight years passed in the conquest of the States capable of resistance until, after the extinction of Carthage, Achæa, and Numantia, the Romans fell into sanguinary broils amongst themselves; ninety-two years elapsed from Tiberius Gracchus, who gave the pretext for these disturbances, to the battle of Philippi and the death of

Cassius and Brutus, the last Romans who were worthy of the name. Seventy years after this event Tiberius Cæsar gave a free rein to tyranny, no man any longer daring to raise his voice against the most hideous atrocities. Such is a brief outline of the order of events.

These five hundred and thirty-eight years, during which liberty sometimes flourished and sometimes declined, are so rich in events that it is impossible to touch upon all the subjects of interest in the space of a brief survey. I cannot therefore refrain from briefly enumerating those sources, the study of which must supply this defect, and wherein are contained treasures of political and moral wisdom, which the ages hitherto elapsed have not known how to estimate.

SECTION II.

HERODOTUS.

Greece had historians soon after Solon's time, but we possess only fragments of the works of Hellanicus and Hecatæus. In the thirty-third year after the victory over the Persians, Herodotus of Halicarnassus read his history of the wars carried on between Europe and Asia, before the people assembled at Athens at the festival of the tutelar goddess. His work was composed in a style and spirit which seemed excellently fitted to communicate correct ideas of the situations and laws of nations, and to excite a passion for great and extensive enterprises. The author, who was only thirty-eight years old, had travelled to the borders of Ethiopia and Babylonia; in the Ionian colonies on the Euxine he had obtained information concerning Scythia. In proportion as the latter country has been penetrated, and the character of the Oriental people has been studied, the reputation of this historian has increased. Wits and satirists have with too much levity rejected many relations as fabulous, which are only contrary to our manners and to the nature of our climate. When Herodotus speaks of Grecian affairs, he displays much profound learning, enlivened by an ardent love of his country. We

cannot easily prove that the latter has ever induced him to assert what was contrary to the truth, but he may be suspected to have dissimulated any circumstance by which his eloquence or his patriotism would have lost somewhat of its splendor, for he read his work to the people and he wished to please them. But it requires more acquaintance with mankind, more knowledge of countries and of nature, to sift the truth in these ancient stories, than to pass a hasty sentence of condemnation upon them.

Those who are capable of discerning the beautiful and excellent in style will admire in Herodotus the greatest master of the historic art. He follows the connexion of events, instead of recording, which would have been a far more easy task, what occurred from year to year. In the delineation of manners he has left a great example to later historians; the benignity of his own mind infuses itself into that of his reader, and it is impossible to describe the melody of his Ionic periods. He surpasses the rival of his fame in a more noble and interesting simplicity, and in a singularly well imagined plan, as natural as it is fascinating by variety.

SECTION III.

THUCYDIDES.

While Herodotus was reciting his history, he observed a young man beside him who betrayed marks of strong emotion; he was struck with the intelligent aspect of his countenance, and counselled his father to give him the education of a philosopher. Thucydides was the name of this youth; and Olorus that of the father. Thucydides in recording the period of the Athenian sway, from the last battle against the Persians to the twenty-second year of the Peloponnesian war, has displayed such profound thought, such knowledge of men and of States, and at the same time so powerful, so majestic an eloquence, that as an historian he is ever preferred to all others, or placed on a level with the most illustrious; and as an orator he rivals the fame

of the great Demosthenes. As the riches of nature had fallen to the lot of his predecessor, so every closer study of Thucydides opens to our view a greater perfection of art. Herodotus is more fascinating, but the manner of Thucydides is more noble and exalted. In this he is distinguished from Tacitus, that in the reflections of the Roman we recognize the strong sense of a Stoic philosopher, while we admire in the Grecian writer the enlarged understanding of an Athenian statesman. Thucydides neither attained during his life nor desired to attain the fame of a popular historian; he wished rather to be studied thoroughly than to become of a sudden generally applauded, and wrote more for the few than for the many. Therefore he merely hints at what others would have explained; he is often harsh and obscure, but the trouble of penetrating his sentiments is well repaid. Occasionally we shall do well to remember that he was related to the exiled family, the Pisistratidæ; that he had probably no particular attachment to popular government, and had personally reason to complain of the Athenian people. He had besides a certain propensity to contemplate things on the most unfavorable side, and yet, alas! he appears seldom to err in consequence. In him we chiefly admire the statesman, in Herodotus we esteem the enlightened and benevolent man.

SECTION IV.

XENOPHON.

Xenophon, the amiable friend of Socrates, continued the Grecian history from the period where the narrative of Thucydides terminates. In a short outline he has preserved to future times the course of events from the sea-fight near the Arginusæ to the battle of Mantinea. We have also from him a biographical memoir of the Spartan king Agesilaus, and an analysis of the Lacedemonian and Athenian constitutions. The interesting account of the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks, who assisted the younger Cyrus against his brother Artaxerxes, accom-

plished under the generalship of Xenophon, is commonly held to be his own work.

His style is not less lively and still more simple than that of Herodotus. The only ornament of both is the refined moral feeling which pervades their writings. Xenophon affords an excellent model of perspicuity in narration. His piety and his love of justice so win the hearts of his readers, that they forgive him when he puts his philosophy even into the mouths of barbarous chieftains, whose thoughts were never so perspicuously arranged. His work was completed in advanced age, and some parts of it may therefore want the last polish; the chapter on the Leuctrian battle is not entirely satisfactory. The good reception which he found at Lacedemon, when the turbulent democrats of Athens had driven him into exile, gave him a particular attachment to the former Commonwealth, which philosophers were generally inclined to regard with esteem. He related unwillingly the victory of the Bœotian Epaminondas over his beloved Lacedemon: in accounting for this feeling we must call to our remembrance that in the battle of Mantinea, Gryllus the son of Xenophon, gave Epaminondas his mortal wound. Xenophon is a great and unequalled example in his art; few are capable of perceiving the whole merit of his admirable simplicity.

Between Xenophon and Polybius an interval of more than two hundred years elapsed, in the course of which some historians lived who are worthy of regard, but not comparable to the three abovementioned, and whose works are not preserved. In the bosom of the restless Athenian republic, among a people ungrateful to these three illustrious men, the art of history had attained a higher elevation than it held among their successors, who were rewarded by Alexander and the Ptolemies, and provided with an excellent library. The former were ennobled by the sentiment of freedom; and impediments, when they do not from their nature depress, rather exalt the powers of the mind. They were not anxious concerning the judgment of patrons, nor eager for immediate praise; they sought to form for themselves the public taste, and hence they still remain in possession of its applause.

SECTION V.

THE THEATRE.

The dramatic poets also furnish sources of historical information concerning Greece. Æschylus and Aristophanes make us acquainted with the modes of thinking and the manners which prevailed at the two most remarkable epochs of Athens. The former portrays the heroic times with uncommon felicity of description. Euripides, rather eloquent than learned in history, is less accurate in this respect. He was a more philosophical writer than Sophocles, but did not display, as that poet has done, the knowledge and talents of a statesman. He has not painted the character of his own age in so striking and peculiar colors, and has written rather for all ages.

There scarcely exists a theatrical poem more worthy of attention for its historical value than the drama of 'The Persians,' which Æschylus exhibited with great effect soon after the battle of Salamis; the style of this composition is solemn and majestic, as is the manner of Æschylus in general. He knew nothing of the interior of Persia, but describes the rites of polytheism as prevailing there, though no ancient religion was more adverse to idolatry. Like other Greeks he mentions the government of Persia in such terms that we perceive how foreign a limited monarchy was to the ideas of his countrymen. In fact the Asiatic monarchies were only known as unlimited, since the middle power, where any such existed, did not exhibit itself in the external relations of each country.

It is impossible to make a more noble use of the most beautiful language of mankind, than Sophocles has done, or to unite dignity with grace in a more masterly style. Euripides possessed a richer fund of ideas, greater art and eloquence, and more philosophical genius; but Sophocles was the greatest writer and dramatic poet.

It is astonishing to observe in what terms Æschylus, Euripides, and particularly Aristophanes, speak of the chief deities of Greece, and how they treat the most powerful

and popular statesman. No man would dare in these days thus to sport with the most insignificant saint in the calendar, nor could any of the meanest citizens be so held forth to ridicule. These equalizing liberties have the appearance of an innocent pastime; but the veneration of the gods, and the good order of the State, were lessened by them. Nothing which influences the character of men is indifferent in a free constitution, and public amusements particularly require the care and oversight of the magistrate.

SECTION VI.

ORATORS.

The scholastic exercises which are ascribed to Gorgias, the first who held a school of rhetoric, and which bear the names of Antisthenes and Alcidamus, are of no value. On the other hand, Antiphon, if he had not enjoyed the good fortune of being the instructer of Thucydides, would yet be important as the author of a number of valuable treatises on the civil law of Athens. Still more attention is claimed by Andocides, especially when drawing the character of his opponent, Alcibiades, who combined the most splendid qualities with many which were worthy of strong reprobation. Isæus teaches us the hereditary law of Attica.

Lysias, Isocrates, and Demosthenes rise to a far higher level. The former possesses a charm peculiar to himself. He is rich in information concerning those times in which the falling dominion of Athens underwent its greatest conflicts, and his works contain a striking satire on such democracies. With the pleasing qualities of Lysias, Isocrates combined a more comprehensive mind, and he gives us more instruction concerning the general state of affairs in Greece shortly before the ruin of its independence. His magnanimity and patriotism are tempered with gentleness and benevolence.

With a bolder pencil the author of the Philippics has portrayed the crimes and follies of his age. We may say of Demosthenes, not that his chief merit consisted, like that

of Lysias, in a peculiar fascination, or, like that of Isocrates, in a loftiness of mind which inspires awe, but that he combined these and all other great and splendid qualities of the orator in the most exalted degree. It is his character to be always what he ought to be: in the great variety of circumstances treated by him, he is never below expectation, never mean, never overstrained. As a patriot Isocrates was not less admirable than his rival. We recognize in his orations the sentiments of the man who, having almost attained his hundredth year, slew himself when the tidings were brought to Athens of the defeat of the Greeks at Chæronea. As a statesman we may prefer Isocrates, since, knowing the incurable evil of his country, he endeavored to avoid the contest of corrupt and divided republics against the forces of Macedonia, and sought to direct the attention of the king towards the conquest of Persia; but in the orations of Demosthenes we contemplate the interesting struggle of a citizen who contended for expiring liberty against an unworthy age. Corrupt as the republic was, yet its end affects us, like the death of an old and infirm friend. How instructive to all citizens is this example, since the evils which ruined Athens menace every State!

It would lead us too far out of our way to characterize Demades, Dinarchus, and Lycurgus; but Æschines appears a rival not unworthy of Demosthenes. The oration against Timarchus, who was accused of the most flagitious vices, is valuable for the history of manners.

Concerning the letters of Phalaris and other statesmen and philosophers, it suffices to observe, that in themselves they are agreeably written, but almost all spurious or of very doubtful authenticity.

SECTION VII.

PHILOSOPHERS.

The scanty writings of the wise men and women, who followed the principles of Pythagoras, exhibit this venerable

school of morals in a point of view which is gratifying to the heart; but there are three philosophers whose works are chiefly interesting to the historian.

Plato contains not only many traits of manners and much political information; he not only describes the mode of life and the characters of the learned men who flourished in the best days of literature, but he throws the most important light on the history of the human mind, by displaying how far the ideas and representations of a future state of existence had advanced towards purity and perfection among the ancients. No philosopher has proceeded further in this path. Plato himself felt, that in order to render us certain, it is needful that a God should remove the obstacles. In him we find the source of many representations and customs which have passed into Christianity. Philo, the Jew, learned from him the allegorical manner of illustration; and the Fathers of the Church, more remarkable for imagination than for the command of correct language, and rather endowed with warm feelings than with sound judgment, celebrate the godlike, poetical, sublime Plato, who communicates a fondness for the symbolical style and for mysterious representations.

As intellect differs from wit; as a mature coldly reasoning man from a fiery youth, so Aristotle is distinguished from Plato. What we possess of his treatise on politics contains excellent instructions for our age; much knowledge is preserved in some writings which with great impropriety stand in the collection of his works: but Aristotle is principally remarkable as the philosopher whose doctrine, often misunderstood, prevailed during many centuries in the Arabian and Christian schools. The sources of many errors sanctioned by his name are not to be found in his works, but in the commentaries written by men who did not themselves understand him. We cannot find in all antiquity a philosopher of more comprehensive mind and profound reflection, a man of clearer and more correct judgment, or a more accurate writer; and very few are to be met with in the history of the world who can be considered his superiors. His ethics are excellent in their kind. Many observations in his history of animals, which

heretofore were scarcely held as probable, have been established by more recent discoveries.

Theophrastus in his history of plants has a greater degree of perspicuity and attractive grace than his instructer Aristotle. He is valuable for the information he affords concerning the products of the Greek and Asiatic soils.

SECTION VIII.

POETS.

Although the works imputed to Orpheus are the production of a much later age than his, yet the antique simplicity which prevails in the Argonautic poem loses but little of its fascination; and this work is valuable for determining the notions which prevailed concerning the North about the time of the Persian war.

The beautiful odes of Anacreon are older than this work: from them we learn how much refinement luxurious pleasures had already attained in the age of Pisistratus. He does as much honor to the Greeks as Homer; for even barbarians have a sentiment of the magnificent which they express with peculiar force, but Anacreon's elegant simplicity belongs to a people whose sentiments had already expanded themselves in the softest refinement.

The maxims of Theognis give an example of the most ancient form of handing down lessons of wisdom when books were yet rare, and they contribute to our acquaintance with human nature as it existed in those days.

The fragments of Sappho, of Alcæus, and of Tyrtæus, give us the highest idea of the perfection of Grecian taste. As man is distinguished from the brutes by the power of speech, how exalted is the nation who possessed a more perfect language than all others! Pindar contains good materials for mythology and history, but our chief admiration is excited by the lofty elevation of his soul, which with a glance only given to him penetrates the most secret relations of things, and with thoughts pregnant with strong sense overwhelms his astonished reader.

A work ascribed to Demetrius of Phalera directs our attention with much taste to the beauties of style of the poets and chief writers in prose. Even the works on music collected by Meibomius, and Nicander's poem on poisons, contains traits of history. How many more are found in the writings of the father of medicine, so rich in information concerning private life and the influence of climates, and lastly, in the geographical works collected by Hudson! In no department of knowledge have the sources been exhausted. Not one has fulfilled all its capabilities, or ever will fulfil them. Truth itself is in God. To seek it is the allotment of man.

BOOK IV.

REVOLUTIONS IN GREECE FROM THE AGE OF SOLON TO THE CONQUESTS OF THE ROMANS IN ASIA.

SECTION I.

PISISTRATUS.

Solon was advanced in years when Pisistratus, one of his relations, who was said to be descended from the house of Nestor, gained the ascendency over a party in Athens, which had long been hostile to his family. Under the pretext that he found it necessary to make some extraordinary provision for his safety, he obtained a guard for his person, with the aid of which he made himself master of the Acropolis, the strongest district of the city. Thenceforward nothing was done in Athens without his permission. Pisistratus had the advantage of more extensive knowledge than the Greeks of that period in general possessed, combined with irresistible eloquence and conciliating manners. He used the power thus unjustly acquired with the greatest

mildness, observing the laws of Solon; and Athens, under his sway, acquired allies and reputation abroad.

Qualities equally splendid adorned his son Hipparchus, but a disgraceful passion occasioned him to commit an outrage against Harmodius and Aristogiton, in consequence of which he was assassinated by them in the tumult attending the celebration of a great festival. His brother Hippias, informed of this event, strengthened his own power with greater vigilance, doubled his body-guard, and became rigorous in his administration. The Athenians, discontented with his tyrannical suspicion, called in the aid of the Lacedemonians; and Cleomenes, king of Sparta drove out the usurper Hippias, who sought refuge in the court of Persia.

SECTION II.

PERSIA.

The monarchy of the Persians, had acquired, not long before this era, an unexampled extent of power in the countries of western Asia. Cyrus, descended from an ancient family of Persian princes, had united several empires under his sway. Babylon, weakened by disturbances in the royal house, fell, during the silence of the night, as Daniel and Xenophon agree in relating, into the power of the Persians and Medes; the last king who had projected the restoration of Nebuchadnezzar's throne, having become a captive at Larissa,* after his allies and vassal kings, as far as the Hellespont, had been subdued by many victories. Cyrus governed his conquests with wisdom and moderation.

Cyrus is the prince whom the prophets of Israel celebrate. In order to lessen the too great population of the newly conquered city, he sent back the Jews from Babylon into their native country. It is probable that the Persians, who only adored one God in primitive simplicity, without

* Is Larissa Resain?

forms modelled by human hands, felt no enmity against the faith of the Israelites.

Cyrus appears to have fought unsuccessfully against the hordes who wandered over the region to the N. E. of the Caspian sea. The story of his falling in battle against the barbarians, was perhaps introduced by mistake into the life of this monarch, and belonged originally to the history of some other Cyrus. It is more probable that he died in an advanced age, by a death more worthy of him.

He incurred a censure difficult to escape in a life so full of active exploits, by neglecting to conduct on proper principles the education of his successor Cambyses. This prince was corrupted by flattery; he had the thirst of conquest and the love of power; but reason and humanity had no influence over his passions. He conquered Egypt, yet the Egyptians persevered for many centuries contrary to his will in their ancient customs, which were adapted to the nature of their country.

Cambyses having terminated a short reign by a violent death, the sovereignty after an interval of tumult, and one or more rapid changes in the government, fell into the hands of Darius Hystaspes, a prince whose wisdom and greatness were long revered in the memory of the Eastern nations. As long as Darius restrained himself within the natural boundaries of his empire, he reigned with undisturbed prosperity, but he sought without success to subdue the Scythians, whose vicinity occasioned him uneasiness, and who were protected by their lofty mountain plains. Yet the conquest of Thrace rewarded his arms, and Macedonia paid homage to the throne of Persia. It was in the court of this monarch that Hippias took refuge.

SECTION III.

THE PERSIAN WAR.

About the same period some leaders of the Ionian States attempted to become independent of the Persian Satrap of Lydia. Cyrus had subdued these countries, but the Greeks often unsuccessful in preserving their beloved free-

dom, were always eager to recover it, and they were, for the most part, more fortunate in this endeavor, which chiefly depended on valor, than in the maintenance of their liberty, which demanded rather sound understanding than brilliant talents, and required men of far more sedate character than the restless adventurers of Greece. In this instance, the Ionian cities were supported by Athens, whose colonies they were, with that love for the cause of liberty which animated both parties. The king in consequence gave a more willing ear to Hippias.

B. C. 490. At length Darius sent his generals Dates and Artaphernes with the first of those prodigious armies, with which the East has often from that time overwhelmed the west of Asia and the European countries. In these enterprises every district sent its contingent of men and the sustenance needful for them, and the expeditions were of short duration. The Athenians under Miltiades, without any other succor than one thousand Platæans, exhibited in the plains of Marathon, to the astonished Satrap the resources which heroic valor and military skill afford to a free people for protecting all that they hold most dear against perpetual slavery. The hosts of the great king were driven before the armed townsmen of Athens, and took refuge in their ships. It is impossible to say how many thousands were engaged, but what is most important to remark, is, the power of man over the gifts of fortune, the exemplification of which constitutes the chief interest in the history of all such exploits.

The Greeks omitted to follow up their victory, but Xerxes, the son and successor of Darius, in order to avenge the ignominy of the Persian arms, drew together a host of combatants in such numbers as were scarcely ever since assembled until the time of the Crusades, or of Gengis Khan, or of Tamerlane. B. C. 480. At this time Themistocles lived in Athens, who when yet a youth, had passed sleepless nights, from envy of the trophies of Marathon. He was a man of great genius, uncommon presence of mind, and as eminent for finding resources in times of sudden emergency as for sagacity in forseeing contingencies; alike capable of turning to advantage the

plans of others, and of setting forth his own in the most persuasive terms; in short, one of the greatest men who ever governed a State. By his advice, the Athenians had built ships, for Themistocles rightly judged that the great king would not forget his defeat at Marathon. He knew the advantages to be obtained by approaching distant coasts by means of powerful fleets, and every where conciliating friendship or inspiring terror. The naval power of Athens was his hope and consolation. Argos, terrified by Xerxes, had concluded a treaty of neutrality; doubts were entertained concerning the Thebans, and that party soon prevailing among them who held for certain the victory of the most powerful, Thebes declared for the Persians; the Peloponnesians were contented with the defence of their own borders, and the Lacedemonians alone, with some of their dependants had occupied and held possession of the pass of Thermopylæ, which was the key of Greece. During the general consternation, the god of Delphi returned this answer to the Athenian people: "All is lost; I behold the flaming temple; the gods of Athens tremble. Pallas in vain supplicates her father; behind your wooden walls the Sire of gods and men will protect you." Themistocles, who without doubt had contrived the answer, persuaded the people that it alluded to the ships. In these the citizens of all ages, who were able to bear arms, immediately embarked, while the women and children took refuge in the Peloponnesian towns. The Persians crossed the Hellespont, made a slow and laborious progress through the obedient provinces of Thrace and Macedonia, and through Thessaly, which offered no resistance, towards the pass of Thermopylæ.

Leonidas, the Lacedemonian king, arrested for a time, the progress of the Persians, and at length sent away all who were not Spartans, in order that each might defend his native town, and be ready in other dangers of his country. For himself, he considered that a longer resistance of the enemy, while Greece prepared herself for the conflict, and the example of an heroic sacrifice, would be the greatest service he could bestow upon the land of his fathers; he disdained the few years of life which yet

remained to him, and resolved to gain immortality in the memory of all great men who should by similar necessities be reminded of his fate. When he learnt that the Persians had discovered a foot path, by means of which they had ascended the height above him, he performed sacrifice, adorned with his royal vestments, to the gods of Lacedemon, supped with his four hundred warriors clothed in their best attire, and rushed upon the hosts of the Persians. Four times he pursued the flying enemy, but was at length overpowered by numbers. Leonidas fell with his four hundred companions, and merited the inscription that was placed upon his tomb. "Stranger, go and relate at Lacedemon, that we all fell here in obedience to the laws of our country."*

B. C. 479. Afterwards Themistocles proved on the waves of Salamis, what a small number of well-commanded ships can effect against a vast and ill-governed armament. The Persian fleet met with a similar fate to that which two thousand years later befel the invincible armada of Philip: a poet and an historian were only wanting to England equal to Æschylus and Herodotus who celebrated the fight of Salamis.

The great king disgusted with the pursuits of ambition, hastened to Susa, and abandoned himself to voluptuous pleasures. His kinsman Mardonius, the chief mover of the war, lost, in his retreat upon Platæa on the banks of Asopus, his life and a decisive battle, in which Pausanias, tutor of one of the Spartan kings, directed the conflict, and displayed great valor and eminent skill in the art of war.

The Greeks followed the enemy to the Asiatic coasts, gained a victory at Mycale, under Cimon, and liberated the Ionian States and the islands of the Grecian sea.

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* This inscription was placed on the tomb raised over the Spartans after the decisive victory of the Greeks at Platæa. The following are the words of it, as given by Herodotus:

ὦ ξεῖν' ἀγγέλλειν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὅτι τῇδε
κείμεθα, τοῖς κείνων ῥήμασι πειθόμενοι. T.

SECTION IV.

SUPREMACY OF ATHENS.

Liberty seems to nations who enjoy it, so great a blessing, and they are so jealous of its possession, that they generally refuse a share of it to States less powerful than themselves, and to their own dependants. The Greeks of the European continent imposed on Ionia and the islands, a yoke which was more invidious and not less oppressive than that of the Persians. B. C. 477—404. The conqueror of Platæa gave the example of ambition, and if his projects had not been discovered, he would have overturned the constitution of Lacedemon. This danger rendered the Lacedemonians, who had neither fleet nor revenues in money, anxious for the maintenance of their laws; and they preferred founding these securely on the basis of poverty and rustic simplicity to the acquisition of a new sovereignty over Greece. At this conjuncture, the Athenians, less moderate in their desires, who possessed a considerable fleet, obtained the chief command over all the Grecian states, which had any thing to apprehend from Persia. They formed a confederacy of republics with a common treasury, and held stated assemblies to consult on the general affairs, and to fix the contingent of ships which each city was bound to furnish. But the Athenians received the money that was apportioned, and provided for the equipment of the fleet. Thus they alone became powerful by sea, and rendered the confederates tributary. Wars were excited in consequence of this usurpation, but the power had already passed into the hands of the Athenians. The Peloponnesus in the mean time adhered to Lacedemon.

The Athenian yoke pressed hard upon the islands, for when the people stood in need of money, the orators found pretences for condemning the weak allies or rich citizens to heavy fines, and the latter took their redress on the islanders. The Athenian admiral sailed annually round the Archipelago, like the Capudan Pasha in the present

day, to receive the tributes and survey the general posture of affairs; and only the shadow and name of liberty remained.

The innocent manners of the rustic people of earlier times, were lost in the licentious turbulence of an assembly consisting of artisans and sailors. The restless jealousy of a people who disdained to revere their illustrious men, and the arts of demagogues who feared the preponderance of noble qualities, spared neither the lives nor fortunes of the heroes to whom Greece was indebted for her liberty and glory. It was only allowed in times of evident emergency to display great and splendid talents. Miltiades died in prison, because the people, who in the field of Marathon, owed to him their existence, had unjustly loaded him with a heavy fine which he was unable to pay; and it was of no avail to Aristides, to be distinguished by the title of the Just, or to Cimon, that he was as gentle and benevolent as he was great. Themistocles, when the country which he had saved, drove him into exile, was indebted to the son of Xerxes for the tranquillity of his last days. Herodotus, the historian, had found it necessary to seek an asylum in Italy with the colony that was sent to Thurium; and Cleon's jealousy against men of virtue and talent, drove Thucydides into banishment. The gentle Xenophon had been exiled before the malice of calumniators destroyed in prison his instructer Socrates, whom the Delphian god had pronounced to be the wisest of the Greeks. The ingratitude of Athens survived after her sovereignty had fallen. Conon rebuilt the walls of the city, and his son, Timotheus, terminated a long, meritorious life in extreme want; Iphicrates and Chabrias would have found no better fate, if they had not, for the most part withdrawn themselves from the eyes of the people. When, after the fall of its dominion, Athens lost its independence, it appeared only to preserve freedom in its internal government, in order to condemn to death Phocion, the type of ancient virtue, in the eighty-fourth year of his life; and to force the wise Demetrius of Phalera, in whose honor three hundred columns have been erected, to seek security in the Egyptian court. We will not

follow the display of this character through all ages. The last deed of the Athenians which is known, before they entirely fell under the Turkish power, was an act of ingratitude towards a meritorious citizen, the father of the historian, Chalcocondylas.

The moderate democracy of Athens was ruined by the project of domineering over Greece, which could not be attempted without a multitude of mariners, and greater expenditure than the ordinary revenues afforded. The means to which the Athenians had recourse in order to attract a multitude of people were an equality without bounds, joined to excessive licentiousness and splendid luxury.

SECTION V.

PERICLES.

B. C. 468—428. As long as Pericles lived he knew how to restrain the increase of anarchy by the principles of a great magistrate who rules over the multitude for their own good. Sprung from one of the most noble families, formed by the most exalted philosophy, possessing an irresistible eloquence rather by the innate power of his genius than by study or imitation, he held, during forty years, the chief honors of the state, and governed the popular assembly with such commanding dignity, that his life deserves to be the study of all those who devote themselves to the public duties of a commonwealth. He was reproached for making use of corruption; it was to be lamented that he had to do with people and with a constitution in which the public good rendered such measures necessary; but it is certain that the democracy during his time was less oppressive towards the confederacy than it afterwards became. Under him Athens attained to the highest degree of opulence and power; under him it inspired respect rather than terror; he sought rather to gain the affections of the Greeks than to subject them to a yoke. The main foundation of his overbearing ascendency was the severity of his manners, his personal virtue, and the dignity with which he addressed the people. He

never flattered or suffered himself to be governed by the people, but inspired them with confidence in misfortunes, and rebuked their insolence in prosperity. This great man, who possessed the most refined taste of his age, gave to the arts and sciences, by his protection and favor, a degree of splendor which they had never before attained, and have since his time seldom imitated.

SECTION VI.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.

B. C. 431—404. It is true that the Peloponnesian war, which Pericles, towards the end of his life advised, was ruinous to Athens; but the jealousy between this city and Lacedemon had gone so far that a war was unavoidable. If Pericles had counselled the Athenians to submit, they would have lost their ascendency, and perhaps their confidence in themselves, and yet would not have been suffered to remain in peace. It can only have been in irony that he was accused of wishing to occupy the minds of the Athenians, that they might not have leisure to observe how lavishly he had expended the public money in erecting the temple of Pallas, the glory of Grecian architecture. Yet Pericles may have found some great enterprise necessary for maintaining internal peace, because while they continued in action the people were obliged to leave the conduct of affairs in the hands of the most able men.

The greatest calamity of Athens was the great plague, which broke out in the second year of the twenty-seven years' war and destroyed Pericles. No man appeared after him who possessed his excellences in all respects, and was capable of inheriting his authority. Men of splendid qualities, and particularly eloquent orators, sought to build upon popular favor, what he had drawn forth from the resources of his mind. The popular assembly was now to be flattered into acquiescence, for there was no longer a hand capable of guiding their decisions and imposing respect. The people believed that they held

the sovereignty, while they were in reality a sport to the passions of intriguing demagogues. One of these was Alcibiades, a pupil of Pericles, who was distinguished not only among his own countrymen, but in all the nations among whom he successively resided. He possessed the most insinuating eloquence, which made its way to the hearts of men with greater facility as it was aided by extraordinary personal beauty, by the graces of his genius, the magnificence of his manners, and the vast resources of his mind. At the same time Alcibiades was an able general, an accomplished statesman, and fitted even in the smallest affairs to attract love and admiration. His most distinguishing quality was a peculiar facility of speedily conciliating all nations and individuals, by completely penetrating into their habits of mind and modes of acting. As a citizen he was dangerous, since he had more adroitness than perseverance, and allowed every indulgence to his passions.

The Peloponnesian war which Pericles advised the Athenians to protract, because he foresaw that the moderate resources of the Lacedemonians would exhaust themselves, was interrupted by a cessation of hostilities; during which Alcibiades incited the people to undertake an expedition into Sicily.

SECTION VII.

THE SICILIAN WAR.

B. C. 413—410. A surprising number of great, magnificent, and opulent cities adorned the island of Sicily. Nearly all of them were governed by democracies, and some, particularly Syracuse, the most powerful, often fell under the tyranny of ambitious individuals. Such persons, having by splendid exploits or by depressing the ancient families and the regular magistrates, brought the people over to their side, and having acquired popularity, contrived under some pretext to obtain a guard; thenceforward they found the means of appropriating to their own purposes a great portion of the envied wealth of the principal citizens, and before their designs were anticipated

became tyrants; or according to the old sense of the term, the masters of the city, and particularly of the citadel.

B. C. 479. Thus Gelo, during a time of great commotion, had acquired the tyranny of Syracuse. He liberated the city from the yoke of Carthage, and governed with paternal mildness; but virtues are dangerous in the founder of an unjust dominion, because they afford his successor resources for governing by contrary maxims. Syracuse became again free; the tyranny acquired no consistency, but the people knew not how to use with moderation their newly attained liberty. (B. C. 469.) In domestic affairs they acquiesced in the laws, but in matters of the greatest moment they had no principles of action. Instead of securing the happiness of Sicily, Syracuse excited factious discontents, and gave occasion to foreign interference: at length deputies from the smaller towns invited the Athenians to their aid.

The majority of people in Athens had no idea of Sicily, but listened to the account given them by Alcibiades, who was well informed. The latter, eager for fame, and full of the feeling of his innate powers, thought the resources of the republic sufficient for conducting this war. It seemed to him that such a conquest must naturally give his nation the preponderance over its enemies in the Peloponnesus, and over the barbarians not only of Persia but of Africa. If the Attic government had been better administered, a power comparable to that of Rome or Carthage might have been founded. But scarcely had Alcibiades set sail with Nicias and Lamachus, at the head of the finest fleet which had hitherto appeared on the Ægean sea, when a combination was formed against him at Athens by all those who were jealous of his fame, and who feared him for the cause of liberty, or for themselves, and by many who had to complain of his youthful licentiousness and imprudence. He was publicly accused of sacrilege. Even the Athenians, who in their comic theatre laughed at all their gods, recalled on this accusation their best general from the greatest enterprise that any Grecian people had ever undertaken. Alcibiades took refuge in Lacedemon; Nicias was a man of sound understanding and good morals, and the richest

of the Athenians, but he had not the great capacity and energetic spirit which were necessary in order to reduce under his power a city like Syracuse, the resources of which seemed to increase with its dangers; Lamachus died, and Demosthenes his successor was accustomed only to petty warfare. A better formed plan was required, and forces were deficient, although Athens had sent by degrees to Sicily forty thousand men. The event was, that all perished or were taken prisoners, and the Athenians, defeated every where, lost at once, in a single catastrophe, their armies and their fleets. (B. C. 410.) This calamity, important in the history of the art of war, has been ably described by Thucydides in its most melancholy circumstances.

When the tidings of this misfortune arrived in the port of Athens, the people for a long time gave no credit to it. When it was at length confirmed by eye-witnesses, the rage of the multitude turned itself upon the orators, the priests, and the oracles, by which they had been misled. The whole of their cavalry was destroyed; they had no heavy armed infantry, no ships on the stocks, no money in their treasury; they had to look forward to the rebellion of their subjects, to the desertion of their allies, to the appearance of the enemy before the city and in the haven, and to anticipate the utmost peril even for their independence. The Athenians, great in misfortune, came to the resolution of resisting; and confided all authority in the State to a council, consisting of the most experienced men.

SECTION VIII.

DESTRUCTION OF THE ATHENIAN SOVEREIGNTY.

The Lacedemonians led by Alcibiades invaded Attica and seized upon Decelia, whence they molested the whole territory; the defection of the allies became no longer doubtful, but Athens, powerful in herself, when necessity armed all her citizens, held out till the seventh year.

At length internal factions impaired the strength of the State; popular orators excited the jealousy of the multi-

tude; suspicions and assassinations impeded and disgraced the government. Alcibiades, who had now been recalled, and had rendered essential services to his country, was a second time driven into banishment with several able generals, while others were put to death. After this act of folly, the unskilfulness and imprudence of the commander of the Athenian fleet, stationed in the river Ægos, who was in vain admonished by Alcibiades, afforded a victory to Lysander, the Lacedemonian general, by which the last resource of Athens, her fleet, was a second time destroyed. (B. C. 404.)

Then the enemy appeared in the Piræus; the people made a courageous resistance; and it was only the extremity of famine that forced Athens to demand peace of Lacedemon. The Lacedemonians held a council of all the confederates, who, under their conduct, had destroyed the power of Attica. On this occasion the Bœotians and Corinthians insisted that the city should be burnt, and all the people sold into slavery. The Lacedemonians, at the glorious termination of the twenty-seven years' war which they had carried on against Athens, resolved that they never would suffer a city to be destroyed by the hands of Greeks, which had acted so noble a part in the defence of their common country against the hosts of Persia. They took care that Athens should never have it in her power to display pre-eminence among the Grecian States in opposition to themselves. Of that naval power which had domineered over the Ægean sea, not more than twelve ships were left to the Athenians, and the long walls between the haven and the city were broken down. In the seventy-fifth year after the battle of Salamis the sovereignty of Athens received this calamitous termination. But the intermediate times had done much towards awakening the genius of the Attic people, and the love of the sciences and fine arts, which had sprung up among them, afforded them the foundation of lasting fame. In no city were the festivals and theatrical entertainments so magnificent and various; their manners were the most polished, and the enjoyments of life among them the most multiplied and the most refined. Commerce flourished in Athens, and strangers,

eager for knowledge, flocked thither in crowds. This city was the Paris of the ancient world, if we take Paris in its best times; a correct taste was diffused among all classes of the people, resulting from the intercourse of illustrious statesmen and philosophers, and the high refinement which the Grecian language had attained. The public walks of Athens, the groves of the Lyceum, and of the Academe, were the seat of a more secure and more glorious empire than the fate of arms can bestow or take away.

Literature had attained the greatest splendor since the time of Socrates, who first knew and acknowledged that man has no insight into the nature of things, and that the sum of all wisdom is the knowledge of ourselves. Thenceforth the highest value was placed on the forming of manners and on the refinement of the human character, and the supreme happiness or sovereign good was pursued by philosophers in various paths, which, however, are only different in name. In the gardens of Epicurus it was sought in a tranquil and pleasant life; in the hall of Zeno, happiness was said to consist in the consciousness of virtue, which is in reality the highest degree of tranquillity; while Diogenes placed it in restraining our desires and wants. We would here simply remark, that the victory at Ægos destroyed only the dominion and not the greatness of Athens; fortune and arms have not all things under their sway; and an enlightened nation, which does not forget itself, secures a dignity which is independent of the vicissitudes of events.

SECTION IX.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF LACEDEMON.

B. C. 404—370. After the humiliation of Athens, the Spartans resolved to restore liberty to the Grecian States on the coast of Asia. Lysander and the other generals forwarded this undertaking, in which there was much to gain, and which afforded them a long respite from the severe pressure of their domestic laws. Too late the king of Persia perceived that he had erred in not maintaining a

balance of power between Athens and Lacedemon. The Greeks were now so much the more dangerous, as many young men had grown up during the long Peloponnesian war, who were only acquainted with arms, and who were the first soldiers properly so called, as they followed warfare for hire. Ten thousand of these mercenaries shook the throne of the second Artaxerxes, and after his brother, in whose service they fought, had fallen in battle, formed the bold attempt of forcing their way back to their country, through the midst of Asia, and at the distance of 34,550 furlongs.* And though they were in the greatest want of provisions, pursued by the best generals of the king through roads often scarcely passable, and treated as enemies by a multitude of Asiatic nations, they completed their enterprise, under the conduct of Zenophon. (B. C. 400.)

Soon after this expedition Agesilaus, a true Lacedemonian, obedient to the laws of his country, and terrible to its enemies, carried the war with great success into the interior provinces. (B. C. 394.)

He showed the Greeks how easily a throne, powerful in appearance, but whose foundations were undermined, might be overthrown. Artaxerxes protected himself by great sums of gold; by means of which he excited internal commotions in Greece, and obliged the Spartans to recall Agesilaus. In this war the Laconian fleet was defeated on the sea of Cnidos by the Athenian Conon, who served in the cause of Persia.

B. C. 392. The same Conon rebuilt the long walls of Athens. Thrasybulus had destroyed the oligarchy of the thirty tyrants, introduced by Lacedemon, and, declaring a general amnesty, had restored the democratical government, which for some time was conducted with moderation. After this revolution Athens appeared too strong to suffer herself to be insulted, but not powerful enough to renew her schemes of ambition.

While affairs were in this situation the king mediated the peace which bore the name of its chief negotiator Antalcidas, and which, by authorizing a foreign interference with

* 34,550 stadia.

its internal relations, was dishonorable to the liberty of Greece.

Corruption daily attained a more pernicious prevalence. When demagogues had overturned the authority of civil magistrates, the respect of age and paternal authority were lost; the growing licentiousness found the laws intolerable, and their power and stability were continually invaded; the impatience of restraint, and the impetuosity of the passions, brought religion into contempt; the most sacred oaths no longer availed to hold levity and perfidy in check, and in the ruin of morals the constitution of Sparta was overwhelmed. The great men of Lacedemon, far from their ephori, bearing foreign commands by sea and land, or in the office of harmostæ, or governors of confederate cities, became acquainted with luxury and riches, and found the life of Lycurgus no longer to be endured.

SECTION X.

DECLINE OF THE SPARTAN SOVEREIGNTY.

During this general corruption of manners Epaminondas arose at Thebes in Bœotia, who, though inaccessible to the bribes and promises of the Persians, rendered them a greater service than those who had accepted their splendid offers; by him the power of Lacedemon was overthrown, and his own country, Bœotia, was invested with the predominant authority in Greece, which it was able to maintain only during the life of Epaminondas.

Thebes lay in a fruitful plain at the foot of Mount Cithæron; Bœotia was a federal republic, in which eleven Bœotarchs, chosen by all the districts, had the chief management of affairs, but were not allowed to perform any public act without the consent of the four chief cities. Thebes was the greatest of these, and excited the jealousy of all the rest.

B. C. 378. In the confidence of peace, a Lacedemonian general by a bold stratagem had gained possession of the Theban citadel. This attempt was declared unjust at Sparta; and had it not been for the friendship which the

son of Agesilaus bore for his son, the author of the crime must have forfeited his life.

But it was agreed to keep a garrison in the fortress, and the most resolute of the citizens were exiled from Thebes. The latter led by Pelopidas had the good fortune by a well devised and rapidly executed enterprise to deliver their country from Archias, who entertained no suspicion of such a project; and from that time the Bœotians sought to destroy the abused power of the Lacedemonians.

B. C. 370. They would not have attained this object by the numerical force of their armies; but Epaminondas at the battle of Leuctra availed himself for the first time of the oblique order, that master-piece of military tactics, the secret of which consists in keeping a portion of the army in reserve, until the enemy's forces shall stand in a situation in which it may become possible to fall upon them in flank, and thus to destroy their presence of mind and the consistency of their lines. Thus superiority of numbers no longer avails, and the enemy loses the advantage of acting decisively with his best troops. If the general should foresee this blow, he would hold himself in readiness, or intricipate it; and it therefore becomes necessary that all the arrangements for it should be made secretly, which can only be effected by extraordinary skill in military evolutions. This stratagem accordingly is only practicable to the general who commands the best troops, but to him it gives a decisive superiority. The great Theban commander availed himself of it in the victorious fields of Leuctra and Mantinæa; and by the same means Philip and Alexander with inferior forces conquered Greece and Asia; it decided in favor of Cæsar the battle of Pharsalia, and to it Frederick the Great was indebted for the laurel of Hohenfriedburg, and for many other glorious achievements.

At Leuctra fell the flower of the Lacedemonian youth, the half of the citizens of Sparta; and the sovereignty of Greece, the prize of the Peloponnesian war, was irrecoverably lost. The Bœotians, who before had scarcely ventured to come within sight of the Lacedemonians, followed their victory into the streets of Sparta.

B. C. 369. In this extreme necessity of Lacedemon

the Athenians were not unmindful of the noble conduct of their ancient enemy, and they armed themselves in her support. But a second victory at Mantinæa established the fame of Epaminondas, and completed the ruin of the Spartan power. The Theban general finished his career by an heroic death.

B. C. 362. On that account this day was calamitous even to those whom it crowned with victory. The Bœotians, as if they had been beaten, remained motionless with astonishment on the field, and the enemy, as if pursued by the mighty shade of the fallen hero, betook themselves to a precipitate flight.

No general ever before arranged the order of battle on principles so scientific, or carried the art of war to such perfection. Epaminondas was moreover a noble and virtuous citizen, magnanimous towards his ungrateful country, modest and mild in character, warm in friendship, a lover of philosophy, and a most accomplished man.

SECTION XI.

RUIN OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF GREECE.

The death of Epaminondas was an irreparable misfortune for the Greeks, for there remained not in any of the states a citizen capable of uniting the divided republics by the preëminence of his moral powers. B. C. 361. With Epaminondas the influence of Bœotia was extinguished: Agesilaus the last hero of Sparta died soon after him, and scarcely had Xenophon completed his panegyric on the latter, when he concluded his long and illustrious career, B. C. 359. The maritime power of Athens had sunk forty years before into insignificance; and the best Grecian armies had suffered in the last battles an irrecoverable loss.

The multitude of those persons increased, who, born as it were in the field, and formed only to arms, wandered about in quest of adventures, and being strangers to social order and the arts of peace, sought only for commanders

who would furnish them a regular stipend, and give them a share of plunder. In early times the citizens fought for the rights or the usurpations of their country; the armies of the great king were contingents of militia from each province, but at this period the condition of the world was changed by a soldiery whose regular trade was warfare. This was anticipated by Jason of Pheræ, a Thessalian chief, who engaged a considerable number of mercenaries in his service, and formed the project of possessing himself, by their aid, of the wealth of Asia; but a premature death prevented its completion.

Philip, son of Amyntas, having after many disturbances in Macedonia ascended his paternal throne, adopted this plan of waging war, and pursued it to a still greater extent. But the cause which chiefly contributed to give a new condition to all the countries between the Adriatic sea and the furthest Indies, was the military education which Philip had received under the precepts of Epaminondas, while he resided, during the calamities of his house, as a hostage at Thebes. With the knowledge which the ingenuous spirit of the royal youth eagerly imbibed from this great man, he combined what the latter wanted, namely, the power of a monarch, and the boldness of an enterprising conqueror to whom all means are indifferent which conduct him to the scope of his desire. Philip had, besides, pleasing manners and apparent gentleness, by which he engaged the affections of the soldiers and deceived the people; he was addicted to conviviality and to pleasures of all kinds, and was therefore the less dreaded.

In Athens lived the orator Demosthenes, whom nature seems to have bestowed upon the Greeks, in order to foretel all the calamities with which their neglect of the common good and corruption of their principles and manners could not fail to overwhelm them. They heard him as the Trojans heard the soothsayings of Cassandra. While Philip was forming his phalanx, improving his revenues, increasing his armies, gaining dependants, sowing dissensions, preparing fetters for all Greece, the Athenians refused to believe that there was any thing to fear. Many celebrated his equity, the gentleness of his manners; they

dreaded the exertions and the sacrifices which would be required for a serious opposition. The generals, from the fear of responsibility, were unwilling to undertake enterprises; they sought to prolong wars that they might lengthen the period of their command, and acquire the greater gains; they contented themselves with the mere appearance of action, and when they had done enough to save themselves from open ignominy, spared their troops, which were too expensive and difficult to replace; they watched with particular care over their own lives, having no belief in a future state or regard for posthumous fame. Thus, all the military enterprises of the Greeks at this period were conducted without vigor, as they were undertaken without any connected plan. Philip, on the contrary, infused into his army one common sentiment, which sprang from his own breast, and incited them to the project which was the main spring of all his actions.

After Philip had exercised his arms in subduing the barbarous people in the vicinity of his own country; after he had conquered Thrace as far as the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, gained possession of Thessaly, divided, deceived, and subdued Phocis, acquired, to the astonishment of all Greece, a seat in the Amphictyonic council, as avenger of the Delphic god, and filled every place from Byzantium to the Peloponnesus with the terror of his arms, and at the same time with the reputation of his mildness and generosity, his good faith and patriotism; Athens at length took arms in the cause of expiring freedom. To this resolve the Bœotians gave occasion, who after many years had become at length aware that the king bore them no good intentions.

B. C. 337. The decisive battle was fought in the field of Chæronea. The Athenians and their allies, particularly the Theban body called the Troop of Lovers, fought in a manner worthy of the last contest in defence of ancient liberty. They were defeated. The Theban band, four hundred in number, inseparable in death, fell together, loaded with glorious wounds, and the liberty of Greece expired with them.

SECTION XII.

THE MACEDONIAN MONARCHY.

Philip was anxious, by some great exploit in harmony with the national feeling, to keep his army employed, and prevent the Greeks from reflecting on their calamity. He resolved to avenge the gods, formerly insulted by Xerxes, and to inflict punishments on the successors of his throne for the contumelies he had offered to the Greeks. In the midst of these preparations, the king was assassinated by a young man in revenge for an injury inflicted on him.

B. C. 335. His son Alexander was twenty years of age, when by the destruction of Thebes, which had rebelled, he deprived the Greeks of the hope of reëstablishing their independence. He then marched from Pella, and overran Asia as far as the Ganges.

Since the spirit of conquest had been extinguished in the Persian kings, the salutary institutions of that country had been neglected. The house of the first Darius had been extirpated by a revengeful eunuch. Darius Codomannus was by no means a base or unworthy prince, but was defective in that military skill which was necessary in order to contend with the Macedonians. Asia was indifferent concerning the name of her master, and after a third battle, and the death of the king, Persia fell prostrate before the conqueror.

SECTION XIII.

ALEXANDER OF MACEDON.

B. C. 330. It is not improbable that Alexander wished to unite all the conquered nations by the mixture of races and colonies into one Grecian empire, to raise them to the same degree of civilization, and, by the common rites of religion and the connections of commerce, to accustom Europeans and Asiatics to look upon each other

as fellow-subjects. A scheme to this intent was found among his papers, and as the first project of an enterprise the almost insuperable difficulties of which had not yet been brought to light by the experiment, it may well have appeared practicable to this ambitious youth. Perhaps his object was a great republican confederacy under one chief magistrate. As a pupil of the generalizing Aristotle, Alexander had more than all other conquerors the inclination and the ability for prescribing laws to the world.

But scarcely had the hero finished the labor of his distant conquests, and enjoyed the repose of a few days at Babylon, when he perished by poison, or by intemperance, having scarcely completed his thirty-second year. His children being yet infants, his chief generals provided each for himself, and only thought of conciliating the greedy soldiery. His family fell a sacrifice to the ambition of his servants, who for themselves obtained no other boon than a life of perpetual alarms, and a violent death.

SECTION XIV.

REFLECTIONS.

During this and the succeeding age military talents alone displayed themselves. They enabled the common soldiers by valor and profusion to gain the sovereign power in various countries, and force the people to pay for their own subjugation. The character of men and of nations became different from that of former ages, and history assumes a gloomy and unpleasing aspect; men appear no longer on the stage, and we only hear of troops, who are victorious in proportion as they become mere machines.

The Greek democracies had no regular organization; the people no principle, which might enable them to rise again after a temporary depression. This nation was too rich in ideas to proceed by system; passions and factious contests guided its movements. Most of the Swiss constitutions are equally unsystematical, but the people are tranquil and sedate; while among the Greeks, every

individual chose to be a ruler, and no man was willing to obey. Party-spirit confounded all moral feeling; and criminal audacity was looked upon as the courage of those who dare every thing for their comrades in arms; perjury and falsehood were regarded as mere sport of words; and cities formerly celebrated for virtue, in the prevalence of license and disorder, surpassed even the crimes of tyrants. The citizens of the middle class were the most unfortunate; they attracted envy and hatred, while the bold and flagitious alone prospered: the characters of men lost their distinctions, and the Lacedæmonians became greedy of gold.

In Persia, under kings who confided in the massive strength of their empire, those exercises by which Cyrus had given superiority to his army, had been neglected, during the repose of a long peace, and the names alone remained. When the chief officers had once seated themselves at the banquetting table, it was their custom not to rise from it until night. During their expeditions in the king's service, they still took repose only once in the day; but their journeys were very short; and though the young men were educated as formerly in the courts to learn the forms of business, their chief attention was directed to the sums of gold which were necessary for corrupting the judges. The people were oppressed with new impositions, while the court was disorderly and expensive, the favorites insatiable, and the satraps shamefully avaricious. In the distribution of public trusts, less attention was paid to the duties to be performed than the wants of the favored applicant; and the menials, cooks, and panders of the great filled all the inferior offices. The chief strength of the army consisted in Greek mercenaries, without whose aid the great king would not have been able to maintain until the time of Alexander the dominion of indignant Asia. The commanders of such troops seated themselves, after the death of the Macedonian conqueror, on the throne of Darius and the old monarchs, and very soon glided insensibly into the manners of the people whom they had subdued. New victories were thus gradually prepared for a nation who resembled their European ancestors.

SECTION XV

THE KINGDOM OF MACEDONIA, AND THE FATE OF GREECE

For a few years a shadow of power remained to the house of Alexander, in Macedonia. The vicegerent Antipater and his son Cassander held the government, and effected whatever their passions excited them to attempt. Greece was held in subjection by policy, the armies being occupied elsewhere, and the republics bore the character, not of subjects, but of weak allies of a powerful neighbor. Athens suffered the most numerous commotions; many illustrious citizens fell, or were exiled, before the state sunk into political insignificance, and rendered itself contemptible by excessive adulation towards the great. Lacedæmon, exhausted by its exertions, maintained the institutions of Lycurgus; it still had good generals in the number of its kings, and patriots among its people; but the corrupt party gained the ascendancy by number, and Lacedæmon, whose citizens had formerly been its walls, was fortified like other towns; its institutions were lost, and usurpers gained the sovereignty.

B. C. 280. About the same time, twelve cities in Achaia, the northern district of the Peloponnesus, for the most part little towns, and otherwise of no consideration, united themselves in one confederacy, which became respectable by its equity and moderation. Peace and independence were the objects of this alliance; the states held an annual assembly at Ægium, elected a prætor, treasurer, and secretary, and passed general decrees with respect to wars and treaties. They lent each other reciprocal aid against the enterprises of ambition, and received into their league the Arcadian Megalopolis, and the great cities of Sicyon and Corinth, which had expelled their tyrants, and were desirous of enjoying security and freedom without injuring their neighbors. From Megalopolis, the city in which Epaminondas had collected the scattered Arcadians, sprang the last Grecian hero, who was worthy to appear by the side of Themistocles, and

the conqueror of Leuctra; this was Philopœmen, the Achaian general. It is true that he abolished the forms of Lycurgus at Lacedæmon, but this he did because the people, no longer restrained by those institutions within the bounds of temperance, was rendered by them more restless and impatient of control.

In the same year in which the Achaian confederacy took its rise, Seleucus, who had outlived all the other generals of Alexander, and had reunited the whole empire of that conqueror in Europe and Asia, was killed by Ptolemy Keraunus, an exiled Egyptian prince to whom he had afforded an asylum.

In the kingdom of Macedonia, Cassander, the murderer of the family of Alexander, was succeeded by twelve kings within the space of sixteen years; as if the throne was fated to pay the retribution due to the guilt of blood. B. C. 292. Demetrius, celebrated for the invention of excellent military engines, and for the siege of Rhodes, drove out the house of Cassander. B. C. 284. He was expelled in turn, by Pyrrhus king of Epirus, (B. C. 282.) and the latter by the hoary Lysimachus, a soldier of Alexander, who had established himself in Thrace; Seleucus, still more aged, conquered Lysimachus, and his assassin, the treacherous Ptolemy, succeeded him. B. C. 280.

In the mean time, a tribe of Gauls proceeded from the feet of the Pyrenæan mountains, in quest of territory, and passed over into Asia. They were allured by the riches of Macedonia, and invaded that country. Ptolemy was slain in fighting against them; and in the course of one year, three kings ascended, and lost the tottering throne. The Gauls penetrated through Macedonia, Thessaly, the pass of Thermopylæ, where no Leonidas was now found to withstand them, and reached Parnassus, at whose feet Delphi is situated. Here the Greeks availed themselves of the heights; a tempest, as if sent by the gods, frightened the enemy, and the Gauls betook themselves to a shameful flight; they advanced no more in that direction, but passed over into Asia.

All Alexander's captains were now dead, and the nations were exhausted by a war of four and forty years for the

succession to his throne. B. C. 278. Afterwards, king Antigonus Gonatas, son of Demetrius the besieger of cities, an able and humane general, raised Macedonia out of its ruins; he afforded a generous protection to the Greeks, during a reign of forty years, and left behind him two sons, who, inheriting his goodness and his courage in emergencies, maintained possession of the throne.

The Macedonian kingdom extended from the Propontic sea, and from the wild mountains of Thrace, on the coast, to the confines of Greece; in the mountainous inland country, it reached along the boundaries of many barbarous tribes, never wholly subdued, as far as Ætolia. The Ætolians inhabited the hilly districts and mountains which lie to the northward of Rhium, or the western gulf of Corinth; they were a wild, unconquered people, united in a federal republic, a horde of warriors, who sought fortune and fame in exploits; careless of faith, religion, and the laws of nations.

SECTION XVI.

THE SELEUCIDÆ.

After the death of Alexander, Perdiccas, to whom he had in some manner intrusted the administration, governed Asia in the name of his family. As soon as the restless ambition of this chief was discovered, he lost his life; and Antigonus, one of Alexander's generals, acquired the chief authority in Asia. The ingenuous Eumenes, a man of extraordinary genius and courage, fought in vain for the children of the hero. The ungovernable licentiousness and insatiable avidity of the Argyraspidæ, a body of soldiers whom Alexander had distinguished, could not endure the love of order, and the disinterested zeal for justice which governed the conduct of Eumenes, and they betrayed him to his enemy.

B. C. 315. After the murder of Eumenes, Antigonus no longer doubted of being able to govern Asia without opposition. When he was nearly eighty years old, the rivals of his power, whom he had treated with injustice,

combined against him, and defeated, (B. C. 300,) on the river Issus, this great and ungrateful general, who thirty-two years before, had assisted in conquering Darius on the same spot, but had been the first to forget his allegiance to the family of his king. He was the father of Demetrius, from whom the last Macedonian kings were descended.

Seleucus afterwards reigned peaceably in Asia, and Ptolemy over Egypt, Cyprus, and other Grecian islands. Both of them transmitted the sceptre to their descendants.

Seleucus, the founder of many cities, a wise monarch, fell as above mentioned by assassinaton. The shades of the mother, the brethren, the wife, and the children of Alexander, seemed to pursue with vengeance these kings, who owed their thrones to their treachery towards his house. Such is the course of human affairs, and how much more awful would be the lesson offered to our view, if we could penetrate into the souls of tyrants.

After the murder of Seleucus, when Macedonia became again the reward of guilt, Philetærus, who commanded at Pergamus, formed for himself a kingdom on the coasts of Ionia and Æolia; Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, inherited the remainder of his father's empire.

The vigor of this monarchy afterwards decayed in its extreme parts, and India, Bactria, and Persia were disjoined. A light cavalry, distinguished for its fleetness in the desert, and remarkably useful in the extensive plains of flat and open provinces, founded, under Ardshak, the empire of the Parthians. B. C. 246. This people retained their power during five hundred years, their mode of warfare being best adapted to the protection of the only boundaries on which they had to repel any dangerous assaults. In the military government of the Parthians, there were frequent vicissitudes in the succession of the kings, as generally happens where the favor of soldiery disposes of the throne, but no variation took place in the form of government, the latter being adapted to the genius and manners of the Parthian people.

Lesser Asia would have been lost to the Seleucidæ at an earlier period, if some Cretans had not betrayed for gold the excellent general Achæus, to whom this country

had confided its protection. Antiochus the Third, after inflicting a heavy vengeance on this unfortunate chief, from whom he had before received great benefits, had not the good fortune to close his life in the possession of his guilty conquests. They were torn from him in his old age by the arms of the Romans, who gave Asia Minor as far as Mount Taurus to Eumenes, whom the Syrian monarch had despised. B. C. 189. Antiochus, who in his earlier years seemed to merit the surname of The Great, became in his old age unlike himself, and having outlived his fame, fell in Elymais by a miserable death. B. C. 185.

The government of the Seleucidæ in Syria, so often the prize of bloody wars and the blackest treachery, was thenceforth dependent on Rome; eighteen kings reigned in the course of an hundred years: Antioch, the metropolis, founded by the first Seleucus, being the capital of a fertile province, and becoming the emporium of Upper Asia, continued to be one of the most opulent cities in the world, and the seat of luxury and pleasure.

SECTION XVII

THE PTOLEMIES.

Of all the conquests of Alexander, Egypt enjoyed the earliest and most lasting prosperity. As soon as Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, had gained possession of this country, it resisted the attempts of others by the advantages of its natural situation. Ptolemy had a moderation in his disposition which restrained him from meddling with affairs in which he was obliged to venture too much; he soon acquired the reputation of gentleness and equity, by which he gained the favor of the people and the confidence of other kings. For the rest the Ptolemies governed according to the advice of a senate formed of the chiefs of the Macedonian army, by whose aid they had conquered Egypt.

B. C. 284. This country became in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus the chief seat of the sciences of

Greece, of the fine arts, and of splendid opulence. The grandeur displayed by this prince in architecture became proverbial. He and his son Evergetes were patterns of wise and virtuous monarchs; but the latter Ptolemies did not conform themselves to such models.

The celebrated fertility, the delightful climate of Egypt, the opulence increased by extensive commerce, of which Alexandria was the chief support, gave the people a devotion to pleasure, and all the resources for its enjoyment. In their manners every thing was carried to excess. The royal family became deteriorated in every successive generation. We might be tempted to seek the reason of this defect in the fact that the Ptolemies commonly intermarried with their kindred. Is it necessary in the human as in the inferior species, to cross and renovate the breed, in order to maintain the vigor and ennoble the race? Eunuchs and favorites governed in Alexandria, whose successions, with their cabals, their cruelties and crimes, constitute the history of Egypt.

At first the fear of the Seleucidæ restrained corruption; but when the great name of Rome became the protection of the Ptolemies, they gave themselves up carelessly to the gratification of their passions. Their court became the theatre of the most abandoned life and of the most flagitious excesses.

SECTION XVIII.

CONCLUSION.

The fruit of Alexander's victories remained in Egypt in the hands of the Ptolemies; in Syria, in those of the Seleucidæ; in Macedonia, in the house of Antigonus; and in general in the possession of the persecutors of the conqueror's family. Yet the people seem to have gained by the dissolution of the Persian monarchy. The resorts of commercial industry were multiplied by the establishment of new capital cities; Grecian culture penetrated the mass of Oriental uniformity, and hereditary kings were found

more advantageous to the provinces than the satraps, who were often changed, and so much the more avaricious,—the most dreadful curse of universal empire. A comparison of the Macedonian kings with the Syrian and Egyptian establishes the maxim, founded on experience, that it is a misfortune for men to have all things in their power. The patience of the Asiatics, and the weakness of the Egyptians, rendered that exertion unnecessary which Antigonus Genatas and his house were obliged to put forth in order to support their authority in Greece. This throne was adorned during the longest period by princes of great qualities. It fell, because its last possessors were ignorant, till it was too late, of their external relations, and by ruinous passions gave occasion to their misfortunes.

From this period Rome gained the sovereignty of the civilized world, and maintained it until the morals of the Romans became as corrupt as those of the subdued nations: after which time the sceptre of the Romans was rent from them by the hands of northern barbarians and by the ferocious hordes of the Arabian Desert. Power ever depends upon moral strength; from those who cease to deserve it, it departs to more able or virtuous claimants, and every great empire falls through its own faults.

BOOK V.

SOURCES OF ROMAN HISTORY.

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTION.

When Alexander the Great promised the philosopher Diogenes to grant him any favor that might give him pleasure, and Diogenes requested nothing more than that the

king would go from between him and the sun, that prince said to his courtiers, who were anxious to know his opinion of this singular man, "Were I not Alexander, I would fain be Diogenes." Men of aspiring minds are eager to make all things yield to them, or they despise every thing which the people regard with admiration. It is not otherwise with states, which have two paths to fame; they may secure independence, like Athens and Lacedæmon, by poverty, by superior virtue and intellect; or, like Rome, by vast schemes of conquest and dominion.

The sources of the history of Rome are for the most part lost, till the time when it was about to pass under the dominion of a single despot: the annals of the pontiffs were burnt, and only a few ancient memorials were cited by authors whose works are extant. The writings of the oldest historians, from Diocles to Sallust, have perished, with the exception of a few fragments, and they appear neither to have been composed with critical accuracy nor by men sufficiently enlightened. The memory of many events was preserved by means of orations pronounced at the deaths of illustrious citizens, and by their statues, which adorned the halls of the great houses; but the pride of ancestry often corrupted these sources with fiction.

SECTION II.

POLYBIUS.

B. C. 150. Polybius, of Megalopolis in Arcadia, is the oldest author of Roman history whose works yet survive. During his long residence at Rome as ambassador of the Achæan league, he gained the friendship of the great Scipio. Concerning the constitution of the state, he is the more instructive as he does not, like a native, assume much as already known, but writes like one who had been obliged to study for himself. He viewed the Alps, Spain, and Africa with the eyes of a traveller, and acquired that local knowledge without which it is difficult to render historical description perspicuous. Polybius displays an upright

judgment without prejudice in favor of this or that constitution, and estimates each according to its merits. He does not gaze with astonishment at the prosperity which fortune appears to have given to the conqueror, but while he seeks and unfolds the causes of the fate of Carthage, he foretells when and how the same calamities may happen to its oppressors. We find not in him the art of Herodotus, the power of Thucydides, the expressive brevity of Xenophon. He is a statesman occupied with his subject, who, without thinking of the approbation of the learned, writes chiefly for statesmen. His characteristic excellence is soundness of understanding.

SECTION III.

PLAUTUS; TERENTIUS; CATO.

B. C. 182—145. Of the Roman authors of the same age, the theatrical poets, Plautus and Terence, have alone descended to our times; they furnish no description of Roman manners; for they only transferred into their own language the productions of the Grecian stage.

All the information, therefore, that we obtain from them, is an idea of the style of Roman taste during their age. The bold, manly traits, and powerful description of Plautus, the Attic polish, the inimitable simplicity and delicate shadings of Terence, are suited respectively to the senate of warriors, and the popular assembly of rustics, as they existed in the time of Scipio, and to that later period when the philosophy and effeminacy of subjugated Greece began to tame its haughty conquerors.

B. C. 148. From this remote epoch, a work is preserved on agriculture, which is ascribed to the elder Cato; and is very instructive concerning the domestic and laborious life of the conquerors of Carthage and Macedonia. All the fragments of authors of that time bear the stamp of unpolished strength.

SECTION IV.

SALLUST.

The grave and austere exterior of the Romans lasted longer than the virtues of which it was the effect and outward form; it prevailed in the house, and in the public harangues of the voluptuous Augustus; and Nero's atrocities excited fewer murmurs than his neglect of public decorum. This majestic manner, the fruit of that loftiness of mind which characterized the early times, and of the dignity which belongs to the management of public affairs, this venerable style of antiquity, contributes to give to the works of Sallust that imposing expression which is suited to the history of the misfortunes and blackest crimes of men. The prevailing vices held the author under their yoke, and his habits were in direct violation of those maxims of self-devotion and disinterestedness which he so eloquently recommended; but no Roman citizen allowed himself the least appearance of levity in an historical work which concerned the commonwealth.

The two fragments of the history of Sallust finely pourtray the decline of liberty and morals.

SECTION V.

CICERO; CÆSAR; VARRO.

The outline furnished by Sallust is filled up by the epistles and harangues of Cicero, the prince of Roman orators. We are delighted with the love of virtue and wisdom which prevails through his writings, and obtain from them much information concerning the secret causes of the revolutions of his time; by him we are taught less to lament the ruin of a constitution which pardoned Verres, which respected Clodius, and became the blind instrument of ambition. We perceive in the argumentative works of Cicero, how far philosophers had advanced, just before the foun-

dation of Christianity, in their views respecting the chief interests of mankind.

Cicero has transmitted information concerning the preceding century, its manners, and laws, without which we should not be competent to form a worthy estimate of the most interesting age of the greatest of republics.

In the same point of view, the remaining works of his friend Varro on agriculture and language are valuable. They display to us the life which virtuous men led during the times of public corruption, and the admirer of antiquity finds in them treasures of knowledge.

The Commentaries of Cæsar are a model of majestic simplicity in historical narration. As he writes of his own actions, it is necessary to use the accounts of others for critical illustration. In every word, in every omission, there is a design. With infinite art, Cæsar sets one fact in a strong light, and throws a shade over another; instead of finding a pattern of impartial history, we become acquainted with the man; in every epithet, in every turn of expression, he displays himself, his own genius and intentions.

SECTION VI.

NEPOS; CATULLUS; LUCRETIUS; DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS; DIODORUS OF SICILY.

Although Cornelius Nepos was the biographer of an illustrious Roman, who was the constant friend of Cicero, yet as the greater number of the lives which he has written are those of Greeks, he might be more properly reckoned among the historians of that nation.

The wisdom of Pomponius Atticus consisted in avoiding to take any personal share in the affairs of state during turbulent times, and in leading a life of philanthropy and domestic retirement. We are delighted with the pleasing style of Nepos, but there is in his writings more of philosophy and refinement than of the ancient Roman character.

The poet Catullus was the countryman and friend of

Nepos. His odes show how far it was permitted, in republican Rome, to pourtray scenes of licentiousness; in fact, the utmost latitude was allowed, and Cicero openly brings similar traits before the people. Catullus was the Roman *Grecourt*,* yet bolder, and in simplicity and elegance superior to the French poet; even though he had left nothing but the ode on the sparrow of his mistress.

While Catullus amused the dissolute youth with voluptuous representations, and contributed to render their vices less ferocious, Lucretius excited among the reflecting Romans dangerous doubts concerning the nature of things. The contemplations which he opened to their minds were contrary to those principles on which the laws and virtue of Rome were founded; and promoted the overthrow of morals already corrupted by luxury. We admire in Lucretius the majesty of ancient poetry, and the more alluring graces of the rising philosophy of Epicurus.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus has been supposed, without sufficient proof, to have been a freedman of the family of Cicero. His Roman history, written with eloquence and learning, is too beautiful and too animated to be true; fragments of poetry and traditions do not afford such pictures, and it is evident that the author must have filled up many chasms. The outlines of the constitution are traced by Dionysius with fidelity and eloquence, and we only complain that he is too great an orator. These faults in his manner are not of the first order, but the failings of excellent authors require to be pointed out, while those of inferior writers are easily detected. No critic has better performed that duty than Dionysius himself, in his books on the historians and orators of the Greeks, which are indispensable to all who wish to perceive accurately the beauties of those authors, and to form their taste on the best rules.

We here willingly make mention of the learned Sicilian Diodorus, who delivers much rare and excellent information on the fables of the primitive world, on the history

* Grecourt was a celebrated French poet, and writer of epigrams of the age of Louis XIV. T.

of his country, and on the wars of the successors of Alexander; but the portion of his work in which he treated of the Roman history, has become the spoil of time.

SECTION VII.

TITUS LIVIUS, AND VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

From the times of the republic, no connected work on the history of Rome is extant older than the age of Titus Livius, except the embellished narrative of Dionysius, which is not half perfect, and the celebrated productions on particular subjects which we have already noticed. Although Livy gave his work the graces of eloquence, for he intended it to be read, yet he carefully made use of all the sources of correct knowledge which were accessible to him. The prodigies which he relates do not impeach the soundness of his judgment, for he reported what the ancient world believed, and what he might well leave to the credence of the Roman people. He supports our interest through the most barren times, by making an admirable use of meagre chronicles and traditions, and by adding excellent reflections interwoven in beautiful harangues. The genius of the republic was not yet extinct, and Rome was charmed with his work. The chief part of his history describes the events of the fifty-two years which elapsed from the beginning of the second Carthaginian war to the conquest of Macedonia, in which he availed himself of the works of Polybius, now for the most part lost. What reader can finish, without grief, the forty-five books which alone have survived out of the one hundred and forty-one which Titus Livius wrote! and how poignant is our regret in remembering, that the last manuscript of the remainder was destroyed as waste paper, in France, scarcely a century and a half ago!*

* Lettres de Colomies. The story, however, of the rocket-maker, who made rockets of the lost decades of Livy, is rather problematical. T.

In following the connection of events from the point of time when Livy deserts us to the Augustan age, we shall always find it better to make use of the brief abstract which the spirited narrative of Velleius Paterculus affords, than of the meagre summaries of the lost books of Livy. In this part of the work of Velleius, the patriotic feeling of a Roman citizen displays itself, while a philosophical estimation of men renders his delineation of characters highly valuable. When he enters upon later times, Velleius falls into the tone of adulation even towards tyrants. In treating of the form of the constitution, he displays quite a different temper, so that his excessive flattery has the appearance of jest. It would seem that the emperor Tiberius, whom, together with his favorite, Velleius so extravagantly praised, understood his flattery in this sense; for he caused him to be put to death; but Tiberius forgave none but himself for confiding in Sejanus.

SECTION VIII.

STRABO; MELA; PAUSANIAS; PTOLEMÆUS.

For obtaining an acquaintance with the state of the Roman empire under Augustus, the work of the learned and intelligent geographer Strabo is of the highest importance, and can never sufficiently be studied. It contains all that is essential for illustrating the antiquity of each country. The author describes the chief provinces as he had seen them, and his account unfolds, in various instances, the causes of that decay which soon showed itself, and of many great events of the succeeding times.

The short description of the earth by Pomponius Mela appeared at a later period. What Mela says of the nature of countries, and the manners of various nations, is often new and of sound judgment.

The journey of Pausanias through Greece, besides other important historical information, gives an idea of the rich treasures at that time extant in the works of ancient art, which excites our keenest regret.

The enumeration of countries, nations, and towns by the Alexandrian Ptolemy is a dry catalogue; but so instructive by its accuracy, that a critical edition of it is among the objects of our most anxious wishes.

SECTION IX.

VIRGIL; HORACE; OVID.

It is impossible to speak of the sources of our acquaintance with Rome with reference to the time of her highest power, without mentioning the three men who chiefly contributed to earn for the Augustan age, a glory second only to that of the age of Pericles.

From the time of the amorous Theocritus to that of Solomon Gesner, no pastoral poet has lived who is so worthy to be compared with those great masters as Virgil. The genius of Virgil would have borne him far above the fame even of his illustrious rivals, if the most elegant and accomplished imitation could have attained the faithful and lively expression of such originals, and if it were possible for a poet who dwelt in the plains of Mantua, and in the imperial palace, to form a conception of the amenities of the pastoral life, as they display themselves on Mount Ætna, and in Switzerland. The poem of Virgil on agriculture is, in language and sublimity, the finest production of the Latin muse. The highest encomium we can bestow upon Homer, is to say, that he called forth the emulation of the bard who has sung the exploits of Æneas, and that the latter has only excelled his great example, when the philosophy of a refined age gave him an advantage.

For the privilege of being the best painter of manners, Horace has to thank his system of ethical philosophy. He partook sufficiently of human passions to conceive the feelings which belonged to them; yet had too much temperance to become for a long time their slave. He possessed a degree of candor and equity, which rendered him indulgent towards human frailties.

After Horace had fought with the last Roman citizens

for the republic, but found the revolution unavoidable, he adhered to the master who possessed the greatest talents, and made use of his favor in a manner useful to the state and to himself. While he praised Octavianus Augustus, he showed him the path to fame, and at the same time taught a lesson which is worthy of being recommended to the subjects of a monarchy. What could be more wise than to adhere to him, who with a sufficient power combined true ability and the most humane designs? The world would not gain any thing, if all virtuous men died like Cato, or conspired like Brutus.

Ovid has displayed great learning in his Metamorphoses and Calendary verses, without the aid of which it is impossible to obtain a correct idea of the religion of the ancients: the former is the most instructive book on mythology, but the Fasti are even necessary for the correct estimation of Christian rites; for many customs have been borrowed from the pagan ritual, and interpreted in a more refined manner. Often indeed the old as well as the new sense has been forgotten or changed, and the whole has become an unintelligible symbol, in which the worship of God has degenerated into a wretched pantomime.

Ovid's Art of Love is a poem not peculiar to his age; we discover by it that these matters were at Rome as they are with us. Ovid possessed the elegance and the beautiful language of his time, but he had an enervating weakness of style. His favorite sentiments bring him into endless repetitions.

The decline of good taste became afterwards perceptible. The human mind is eager even to exceed perfection, and thus alienates itself from the happy mean when once attained.

SECTION X.

TACITUS; THE ELDER PLINY.

The history of the government of Tiberius, is the great work by which Tacitus has acquired the fame of penetrating more deeply into the soul of a tyrant, than any other

historian. In the following books, we shall trace the corruption of the ancient character, while a few illustrious souls in the midst of the general abasement yet opposed their virtue to the omnipotence of Nero. Tacitus has incurred the suspicion of having exaggerated the crimes and depravity of fallen princes; but what he relates is according to the nature of the human heart, especially under a certain climate, and other times may afford too ample a confirmation. It has been objected to him as to Guicciardini, that he paints mankind in black colors; but history is conversant with men, whose passions are fervid enough to occasion remarkable commotions. Extremes are seized by the annalist, of which the private citizen scarcely forms a conception, and which are only so far of service in the estimation of national character, as they either oppress or elevate a nation by the influence of example.

The universal history of the elder Pliny, the abstract of two thousand books for the most part lost, is a Roman Encyclopædia. Besides natural history, it contains a description of the manners of all the ages of Rome, delineated with the talent of a great writer, and with the feeling of a virtuous man. Many have recognized in him the Haller of antiquity; he resembled that philosopher in the variety of his knowledge, in his laborious habits, and in his industry in compiling. The prodigies which he relates, in order to set forth their absurdity, have been laid to his charge as if really believed by him. Concerning the arts, Falçonet appears not always to have understood his meaning, and it is worth while to compare what Mengs, who was a greater master of the subject, has written on the painting of the ancients.

SECTION XI.

PLUTARCH; SUETONIUS.

It is superfluous to say much of Plutarch, for ages have decreed his praise. Whoever has a feeling for the moral greatness of the heroes of antiquity, needs only to read Plutarch, in order to be delighted with him, and to ex-

perience the same sentiment which he has expressed:—"while," said he, "I had daily before my eyes in setting forth their history, the exploits of so many illustrious men, I have myself become a better man." He has said nothing concerning those who accorded entirely with the character of the times in which they lived.

After Plutarch and his heroes, it is difficult to speak of Suetonius and the Cæsars; yet his book is worthy of observation, although we may doubt whether he always followed accurate authorities and fully understood them.

SECTION XII.

LATER HISTORIANS.

Dion Cassius the Nicæan, was an experienced, industrious and honest statesman. The principal resource which we derive from him, is an account of the conduct of affairs under Augustus, which we have not in so perfect a form from any other historian; in this are contained the speeches of Mecænas and Agrippa, together with those of the emperor himself, in which Augustus, now the father of his country, appears to have become worthy of Virgil and Horace.

Herodian is faithful, consistent, and interesting without art; a comparison of the times described by him with that period which followed the death of Nero, and is recorded by Tacitus, leads us to observe the gradual effect of monarchical power on the senate and armies, and the influence of the long reigns of four virtuous princes.

The five or six historians from Hadrian to Carus must be used in the deficiency of better authors; they are not circumstantial enough to afford us a perspicuous knowledge of characters and affairs, and to fix with certainty our estimation of them. In general they say little, and that in a few words. The ancients express much in a small compass, and are yet sufficiently ample. The art of the historian as little consists in the extent of composition as the object of the reader is obtained by hastening through a

number of reigns in a few hours. Skill is manifested by the correct delineation of every thing that is serviceable to the knowledge of men and of nations.

In much later times Ammianus deserves an honorable mention as a warrior of excellent understanding and integrity; and on this very account an unfavorable judge of the sycophant court of Constantius. On the other hand, he is worthy to render the justice refused by many to the last of the Cæsars, who deserved to be a successor of the first.

SECTION XIII.

VARIOUS WRITERS OF PARTICULAR HISTORIES.

Some have not unsuccessfully cultivated a more confined field, or diffused by their writings a less direct light.

Philo, the Jew, in his account of his embassy to Caius Caligula, makes us feel what an evil it is for a nation, in matters which concern its very existence, to depend on the wantonness or capricious frolics of a senseless or base courtier.

His countryman Flavius Josephus, in his work on the Jewish war, which was terminated by Titus, describes an interesting struggle of military skill against the inventive resources and the desperate fury of a people driven to the last extremities; he sets before us the completion of the most ancient national history in the world, and the fulfilment of the warnings of Christ.

Petronius displays the manners of the court of Nero, the conversation and habits of the voluptuaries of antiquity. Why may not this book be in reality the work of its reputed author? The labored style of a Seneca may well have a different character from the discourses of a youth on genius and taste in the pursuit of pleasure. Petronius initiates the reader into the secrets of a class of men who seldom appear on the great theatre so naturally and so openly exposed.

Juvenal is the severe censor of these immoralities. He does not, like Horace, play round our hearts; he fills us

with awe, with horror, with humiliation. What a scene does he set before us! How inventive, how bold do we find the human heart in pursuing its evil destiny, its utter debasement! If there be some traits painted in too strong colors, yet the pattern was in real life, and what reason can any man have for doubt who is acquainted with our great cities?

Willingly the reader consoles himself under Trajan's friendly sceptre in the good and amiable society to whom he is introduced in the letters of the Younger Pliny, who is often too witty, but always pleasing and instructive. Much is forgiven to Trajan and his age; even their desertion from the rules of good taste.

The beautiful oration in praise of the best of the Emperors reminds us of the base panegyrics on those who were less worthy. The adulations of Nazarius, of Mamertinus, of Eumenius, are composed in so false a taste that they find not many readers, but the few are repaid by the knowledge of historical facts for their otherwise thankless labor.

SECTION XIV.

AUTHORS WHO HAVE BORROWED FROM OTHERS.

The age of Curtius, who described rhetorically the actions of Alexander, is unknown. We might be inclined to place him in the time of the Emperor Alexander Severus, and his style does not contradict the conjecture. Arrian, a rival worthy of Xenophon, has surpassed Curtius, in his portrait of the hero; and the works of Arrian, and what besides remains from Appian on the Spanish, African, Pontic, and Civil Wars, form a very instructive and well-written collection.

The sublime poem of Lucan on the war of Cæsar and Pompey, is obscure in comparison with the simplicity with which this history could have been written by contemporaries, but reconciles us by passages full of ancient majesty, and on the whole is wonderful as the production of an unfortunate young man, who perished in his twenty-eighth

year. He has been accused of taking an undue part against Cæsar; but Cæsar himself would have forgiven him if he had seen him under the necessity of respecting his authority in the hands of Nero.

The poem of Silius on the war of Hannibal is in every respect within the limits of mediocrity.

SECTION XV.

COLLECTIONS.

We now come to collectors, a very valuable class of writers when they are accurate, in which number many unfortunate original authors might have enlisted themselves with greater reputation and advantage. Valerius Maximus reports with ability memorable actions and orations, but his reflections upon them are intolerable. Frontinus and Polyænus instruct us, though often not so accurately as they ought, concerning the stratagems of war. Ælian relates many amusing tales; it were much to be wished that he had assisted our researches by adducing his authorities, particularly as he appears himself to have possessed no great share of sagacity. The learned nightly studies of Aulus Gellius, and the more important festive dialogues of Athenæus, are far greater treasures. The extracts of the work ascribed to Julius Africanus under the title of Κεστοι have also a peculiar value. We therein observe that the descendants of those Romans, who warned their enemy Pyrrhus against the traitors that were preparing to poison him, had at length made the preparation of poison an article in their art of war. The method of poisoning fountains and grain, and infecting the air, is treated just in the same manner as the drawing out of an army in battle array, and the manœuvres of the field.

The lexicon of Pollux is an excellent cornucopiæ, which contains rare materials on the Attic municipal laws, on the theatre, on music, on the domestic regulations, and all the customs of the Greeks. Hesychius is full of learning, but not so free from later additions.

At this period the pursuit of superficial and easily acquired knowledge of many subjects occupied the place, as it has done among the moderns, of more profound studies. The literature of this age acquired also another resemblance with that of recent times. The great works of celebrated authors were condensed into beauties and extracts, in consequence of which the principal works were neglected and lost. This ungracious service our good Justin performed for the profound historical work of Trogus Pompeius.

Florus reduced the Roman history into a similar extract; he has the style and manner of the French academicians of the age of Lewis the Fifteenth. Montesquieu quotes from him many passages as specimens of good taste, but that these passages are in the true style of history was not what Montesquieu intended to convey. The wreath of the ancient historians was not a garland of so many hues; the laurel of Apollo satisfied them. A similar abstract, prepared by Aurelius Victor, is simple, and in general ordinary; that of Eutropius is more carefully composed and more learned. It became a chief book of instruction for the middle ages, and was continued in the ninth century at the instance of Adelbergen, a prince of Benevento, who was a lover of knowledge.

SECTION XVI.

SEVEN OTHER AUXILIARY RESOURCES.

After perusing all these historians we cannot attain a profound knowledge of the ancient Romans without studying their books of law; on the other hand, the whole compass of studies hitherto pointed out throws interest and light upon the Roman jurisprudence. Gravina, Heineccius, and Montesquieu have opened the way to its investigation; but there remain in the *corpus juris* many as yet hidden treasures of the history of the ancient empire and of the human mind. The want of arrangement in these works, the defects of editions, the bad taste of the compilers, are so

many Cerberuses which render the entrance difficult; but nothing is invincible to Herculean labor.

Few forensic orations are extant, and those are for the most part from uncertain authors. Next to Cicero's books on orators and on their art, we must distinguish Quintilian's more ample institutions, and the remarkable treatise on the causes of the decline of eloquence added to the works of Tacitus. The study of these books throws much light on the spirit of law in various constitutions. In the old consul we recognize the statesman; in Quintilian the lawyer by profession. Although the "declamations" are for the most part only school-exercises, yet the perusal of Aristides and Themistius is not unrepaid in historical information.

Those who have written on different arts deserve our notice. In good times they are for our example, and for our warning in the period of decline. It might be added, that in the last point of view the declamatory writers are serviceable; but we have no need of seeking so far in antiquity for similar warnings.

The first of arts, agriculture, has been treated by Columella in a manner less pleasing than that of Varro, but more circumstantial. The alterations that were introduced in the succeeding ages, the origin of many rules which still prevail among our rustics, and of many superstitious notions, may be learnt in the works of Palladius.

The state of the art of medicine in the early times of the empire is set before us, as in a pleasing manner, in the learned and sensible work of Celsus; and here Galen, the founder of the Methodic doctrine, is so much the less to be forgotten, as, without his work on the parts of the body and some other treatises, we should be unable properly to estimate the knowledge which was at that time possessed in this science.

Vitruvius teaches the art which is most important, next to that of nourishing our bodies and preserving them in health, namely, architecture. In the course of his work he not only imparts valuable information on many particulars of the manner of life, but shows in how noble and animated a strain the ancients contemplated every subject.

His conception of architecture is sublime and philosophical beyond expectation.

Vegetius sets forth the great and peculiar art of Rome. His excellent work deserves to be edited anew by some careful observer of the revolutions in the military affairs of the Romans. Vegetius does not always distinguish the practice of different periods; he notices, however, all the most important of those regulations, which became continually more complex and erudite from Pyrrhus and the simple rules of the old conquerors until the later inventions were introduced, the performance of which was more difficult than their effect was decisive; and which were more striking on the parade than effectual in the field for maintaining the boundaries of the empire. Onosander composed an abstract of the rules most useful to the general; he does not enter into what must come every day before the notice of the soldier. On the question, whether the old military art was superior or inferior to that of the present day, it is to be observed, that the number of men possessed of inventive genius, was greater among the ancients; but that the art has probably now become more systematic and further advanced. Not to proceed is to go back. The great Condé rightly believed, that if Cæsar should return to this world, he would defeat all our generals. The mechanism of our armies may itself be more perfect than that of the legions, but in reality the instruments are less altered than the men.

For the historical information they convey, the philosophers are also important. The character which they impress on literature has an influence upon the affairs of the state, and these are not without their effect on the manner of representing philosophical ideas. In the greatest corruption of manners the severe doctrines of the Stoics obtained the warmest votaries, for great minds adhered the more rigidly to the sober maxims of virtue. Not only the most opposite extremes existed together in Rome, but often in the same person; many had the books and statues of the sages in their halls, while the manners of their secret life were those which Petronius has described. Even Seneca

gives rules, which were contradicted, not indeed by his sentiments, but by his actions, since he could never persuade himself to abandon the court; and his death was the most decorous scene of his life. Much may be learnt from him in natural history, and concerning manners and literature. Epictetus was not so learned, but the power of his wisdom shone forth in his innocent life. Who does not admire the fervid love of virtue which displays itself in Marcus Aurelius? At a later time, and even during the same period, there arose from the school of Plato a sect which introduced into philosophy the mysteries of the Egyptian mythology, and the Oriental doctrines of the influence of gods and dæmons.

The works of the fathers of the church may be used with no small advantage to history. A spirit of sanctity, of fine moral feeling, and a holy reverence for the Author of their religion, pervades the writings of these men; but many of them pass under false names, and this renders the use of them in history very difficult. In other instances a mixture of anile tales corrupts their venerable simplicity, and now and then the good Fathers allow themselves a pious fraud. The bad style of most of them, their misconceptions, and the weakness of some, redound to the honor of Christianity. It is manifest that these persons did not invent so pure, so sublime a doctrine; it was not they who gained the victory over the religion of Greece and Rome.

Much information on ancient history is contained in writings which, long after the fall of the old empire, were compiled from books then in existence. Illustrious persons of the highest rank, as the emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetes, Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, the empress Eudocia, and scholars who would less happily have employed their labor in composing works of their own, as Suidas, the Byzantine Stephanus, and the verse-maker Tzetzes, have afforded us the satisfaction of yet admiring such fragments of lost antiquity.

Other resources of history, which are very instructive, by the certainty and exactness of the information derived from them on subjects which would not otherwise have

come to our knowledge, are found in the collections of inscriptions, of monuments of the fine arts, and of coins, which have been made by Muratori, Winkelmann, and Eckhel.

BOOK VI.

THE REPUBLIC OF ROME.

SECTION I.

REIGN OF THE KINGS.

Under the government of kings, whatever was their number and the period of their reign, concerning which some doubts have been raised, Rome was founded, peopled, amplified, and attained to a respectable, though not yet formidable degree of power. A. U. C. 83. In the contest of the Horatii we discover an example of the old northern manners, or rather of the primitive customs of men, which were long preserved in the North. The event occasioned Alba Longa to submit to the sovereignty of Rome. Even now the rustics that dwell around its ruins are proud of belonging to that town which was the mother of the imperial city.

This event was important to the growing state, inasmuch as Rome, in consequence of it, succeeded Alba Longa in the command of the Latin confederacy, and thus became the metropolis of a numerous and valiant population.

The towns of Latium were small, and therefore easily retained in subjection. They were places of resort for transacting business, and of refuge in the exigencies of war. The Latins, as well as the Romans, resided in the country.

A. U. C. 242. In the succeeding times, Tarquin seems first to have obtained the command of the more powerful

confederacy of the Hetruscan or Tuscan nation, which, however, was a personal trust confided to him, and not a right transferred to the Roman state. On the contrary, we learn from this circumstance, that Rome was not yet powerful enough to occasion the Tuscans any apprehension lest the authority thus intrusted to its king might, against their will, become hereditary.

SECTION II.

GOVERNMENT OF THE CONSULS.

A. U. C. 245. When Tarquin the Second, by his tyrannical government, had acquired the hatred of his people, Brutus contrived to expel him, together with his family, and to erect a consulate instead of the kingly office. The supreme power, as heretofore, belonged to the senate and people; but, instead of a regent for life, two consuls were chosen annually from the first families, as presidents of the republic and chief directors of affairs.

During the two hundred years which followed that event, wars against many warlike nations of Italy were carried on by the slender resources of Rome with the most strenuous exertions, and finally with decisive success. Rome was in perpetual action; every consul was eager to distinguish his year; each war became the stimulus and example of the following, and roused the spirit of conquest in the Roman people, while their knowledge of men increased with accumulated experience. To these times belong the military crowns and triumphs, the former of which were attainable by the meanest warrior.*

* Among the Athenians the reward extended further; for those who were slain for their country were honored at the public expense with magnificent tombs; were eulogized by the orators; their children were educated at the charge of the city, and introduced before the whole people, clothed in splendid arms, as the sons of brave and deserving men. In Catholic Switzerland it has been the custom, even to the present day, to read annually at the altar the names of the citizens and natives who fell in the cause of liberty in the ancient battles, and to say masses in celebration of their memory.

Rome, after the expulsion of the kings, was bereft of almost all her territory; the Tarquins retained their conquests; and their ally Porsenna, prince of Clusium, after Brutus had fallen in battle, compelled the Romans to conclude a peace, by which they engaged, for the future, never to use iron except for ploughs. They seem now to have applied themselves to the arts of peace, for they concluded in the same year a treaty of commerce with Carthage. Scarcely did Latium continue to acknowledge the sovereignty of Rome.

Petty disputes concerning boundaries occasioned wars with country-towns, over which triumphs were finally gained, and the names and situations of which are scarcely to be discovered. For this same Rome, after a few centuries, all Italy, and at length all the regions which extend from Britain to Persia, were too narrow. Hence let no man who is endowed with perseverance despair on account of the lowness of his birth; let no state, however small its beginning, despond of rising above its mean original! The dominion of the world was not a scheme planned beforehand; it resulted from the judicious employment of contingencies.

While the Sabines, Latium, the Hernici, the Æqui, and the Volsci gave exercise to military talents, and kindled among the citizens of Romulus the thirst for victory, the internal constitution of the state was the source of perpetual strife. The more violently the passions of the people were inflamed against each other, the more necessary did it appear to the senate to give to its vehemence a glorious direction against the enemies of the republic.

SECTION III.

TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE AND DICTATORS.

The kings had been expelled by men of old and noble families, but the people were conscious that the latter only maintained the ascendant by means of the plebeians. The patricians, unaccustomed to submit, neglected to confirm

their power by gentleness and moderation; and when necessity induced them to yield any privilege to the multitude, less of generosity than of weakness was discovered in the concession. They incurred odium, on account of the cruel manner, though consistent with established custom, in which they treated their debtors. It was indeed difficult for the senate to be mild without appearing to be weak, while on the one hand every concession excited some new demand, and on the other diminished the power by which the higher orders might hope to restrain the people.

A. U. C. 265. The introduction of tribunes of the people was a wise institution, by which the aristocracy was held within bounds, and the fury of the populace was regulated. Among ten tribunes, it seldom happened that all were so unanimous in any unjust enterprise, that no individual could be influenced either by reason or authority, by hope, or fear, to desist from the injurious pursuit.

Rome had to thank this body of constitutional leaders of the populace, for the circumstance that, through an almost perpetual agitation, and amidst frequent commotions which called forth the most turbulent passions, no bloody fray took place in this city of warriors during six hundred and twenty-two years.

A. U. C. 258. Shortly before the tribunate, we find mention of the first dictator. This officer was generally a military commander, appointed in public exigencies when quick and decisive measures were necessary, with undivided and absolute power over all classes of citizens. The functions of the other magistrates were suspended during the reign of the dictator. His authority continued only as long as the danger of the state required it, and never exceeded the period of six months.

Rome was, on this account, worthy of her many centuries of liberty and still more lasting empire; that scarcely any other commonwealth combined, with equal constancy, so much docility in listening to proposals which infringed on her favorite customs, and in amalgamating the better institutions of foreign states with her domestic arts and manners.

The tribunate and dictatorship remained long without

injurious effect. No dictator, during four hundred years, though ever so victorious and popular, sought to extend his authority beyond the appointed time, or to avoid giving an account of his administration: yet under this name in the sequel the republic was destroyed. Thus we perceive that forms are in themselves neither good nor bad, but are rendered such by men; they are only distinguished in opposing for a shorter or longer time the progress of corruption.

A. U. C. 359. Among the wars waged during the first century of Roman liberty, the contest against the Tuscan city of Veii, is remarkable, since it gave the Romans the superiority in Etruria or Tuscany; and since during its course winter-campaigns were held for the first time, and pay delivered to the combatants.* The recompense that was due to the soldiers for the neglect of agriculture had been heretofore paid out of booty, or the ransom of towns, but it appears that at this period a military fund was created.

SECTION IV.

WARS WITH THE GAULS, LATIUM, SAMNIUM, AND THE NATIONS OF THE APENNINES.

The interference of the Romans in Tuscan affairs, gave occasion to a most formidable trial of their valor and resources.

The Gauls, who inhabited Lombardy, and the territories of Venice and Bologna, carried on war against the city of Clusium. For the latter, the Romans interested themselves so warmly, that one of their commissioners, sent to mediate a peace, armed himself in its cause. The Gauls, incensed against the Romans, because they refused to deliver up the ambassador, marched against the city. The want of foresight in the Roman general, who was ignorant of their mode of warfare, gave them, on the rivulet of Allia, a vic-

* Can the testimony of Dionysius, on this point, be reconciled with that of Livy?

tory, in which the flower of the Roman youth fell. The excessive dismay which this event occasioned among the vast multitude of the Roman populace, brought the senate to the precipitate resolution of giving up the defence of the city, although the enemy knew little or nothing of the art of besieging, and although Rome had received from her kings, bulwarks of such strength, that a portion of them is believed to remain firm to the present day. A. U. C. 364. The people dispersed themselves over the country; the most valiant of them defended the capitol; and the city was burnt. The Gauls, when it was neither possible nor advantageous to them to stay longer, retired, and left behind them the terror of their name. Polybius says, that eighty-nine years elapsed before the Romans again ventured to fight against them.

The consequence of this calamity was a revolt of the Latin states, which Rome during the season of prosperity had treated imperiously. The legions appeared to have lost their ancient confidence, when the Consul P. Decius Mus, invoking the gods of his country, to whom he had devoted himself as a sacrifice, rushed through the conquering ranks of the enemy, and fell fighting with desperate fury, but opened to his re-animated countrymen the path to victory. When skill is of no avail, it is only by heroism that a lost battle can be restored.

The republic was indebted to this warrior for the reunion of Latium under her sway. She proceeded further, and carried her victorious arms to the shores of the Adriatic; she afforded protection to Campania, the finest and one of the most fertile regions of Europe, full of great and opulent cities, built on the shores of beautiful bays which formed excellent harbors. The whole country of Campania was under the most flourishing cultivation. Cumæ, indeed, was no longer in her splendor, for when the crafty Aristodemus encouraged effeminate manners in order to rule the more easily, the friends of liberty sought security in barbarism; but Neapolis arose in the vicinity, and Capua in the interior; the former enjoyed a moderate prosperity; and the latter, a city of great extent, which might be compared with Rome or Carthage, was the capital of Campania, and soon

became the scene of luxury and pleasure, and of political commotion.

For the possession of this country, the Romans waged long wars against the Samnites, a nation of mountaineers on the shores of the Adriatic, who were in all ages barbarians, and at that time excellently trained in defensive warfare. This contest of fifty years was a school of tactics for the Romans. It was carried on by the Samnites with the greatest valor and with peculiar skill. In the narrow defile of Caudium, a Roman army was surrounded and forced to submit to the most degrading surrender. On that occasion the Samnites ought either by an honorable peace to have deserved the friendship of Rome, and such was the wish of Herennius, the venerable father of their general, or to have massacred the army and instantly marched to destroy the city; they contented themselves however with inflicting an injury that never could be forgiven. Few men know how to act entirely as circumstances require at every conjuncture. The senate delivered up to the enemy the consuls who had subjected themselves to such treatment; they disavowed the treaty, appointed a dictator, and took a bloody revenge. This dictator, Papirius Cursor, defeated the Samnites in decisive battles. The Roman people were ever most formidable after calamities: the first impression of terror yielded to a high feeling of their own powers.

These events bring us down to the time of Alexander the Great. It is believed that if he had invaded Italy, the conqueror of Samnium would have been opposed to him. It may be doubted whether the Romans had, in that age, attained sufficient skill in the art of war, to enable them to resist the Grecian phalanx. Livy appears not to be sufficiently accurate in his account of the wars of this period, and, from the want of more correct information, to have drawn into his narrative the institutions of later times.

At length all the tribes of the Apennine mountains undertook what they would have attempted more wisely, when Samnium was yet able to give weight to their enterprise; they entered into a great confederacy against the Romans. They had no common commander of the whole

alliance, and when the consul Fabius had taken some passes which were considered as impenetrable, the general consternation gave him an easy victory over his dispirited enemies; in consequence of which the war terminated in the dismemberment of the league.

SECTION V.

THE WAR OF PYRRHUS

All Tuscany, the Apennines, Latium, Campania, Samnium, and other countries belonged to Rome when that republic engaged in a contest against the military discipline of the Greeks. The Grecian colonies in lower Italy, through the excellence of their soil and their advancement in arts and civilization, had attained in a short time to a very flourishing state. Some of them long followed the precepts of Pythagoras, and evinced their beneficial influence. A magnificent temple of Juno on the cape of Lacinium was their common point of union. Afterwards they became more democratical and disorderly, and destroyed each other; while some fell under the grievous usurpation of powerful citizens, or of the tyrants of Syracuse. Tarentum, the seat of great commerce, of industry, of opulence, and all the consequences which are usually connected with it, long maintained its independence. The Tarentines were disgraced by effeminacy and pride; the latter rendered them insolent, and the former incapable of adding effect to their arrogant pretensions. The hills abounding in rich pastures, into which the Apennines expand themselves towards the strait, were inhabited by Bruttian and Lucanian shepherds, a valiant race, but less important in warfare than dangerous by their predatory enterprises. In the pastoral life, every little society exists for itself, and it is seldom that many small tribes combine to form a considerable nation.

The Tarentines had the insolence to affront the majesty of Rome, and were obliged to solicit the aid of Pyrrhus king of the opposite continent of Epirus. Pyrrhus was a

warrior after the manner of the *Condottieri* of later times, who hired out themselves and their troops for pay; he entertained the lofty idea of conquering the West, as Alexander had subdued Asia. He understood profoundly the art of war, and has written books, which were much esteemed, on that subject; he was a magnanimous and enlightened prince, but possessed no knowledge of the barbarians against whom he now engaged. A. U. C. 480. He had conquered Macedonia, and as quickly lost the fruit of his triumphs. He now allied himself to the Tarentines, and was delighted with the idea, after subduing Rome, of conquering Gaul, Spain, Africa, and of becoming master of Carthage.

A. U. C. 484. Pyrrhus defeated the Romans, who were not yet acquainted with his more artful method of fighting, and with his elephants; but finding in them a courage which he had not anticipated, he thought it expedient to seek their friendship.

The senate, convinced that a lasting alliance must have for its foundation mutual respect and some sort of equality, declared to the victorious king, that they would not give ear to his proposal, till he should have abandoned Italy. Cineas, his ambassador, who had judged of the senate according to the manner of the Greeks, discovered how inaccessible the Fabricii or the Curii were to motives of private interest. Nothing was neglected in order to restore the reputation of the Roman arms; they considered every foreign method of warfare as a problem which it was proposed to them to solve.

Pyrrhus was completely arrested in his progress; perseverance was not one of his qualities, and he gave up the idea of conquering Italy, and proceeded to Syracuse, being the son-in-law of the deceased tyrant Agathocles, where he behaved with equal valor and inconstancy. He passed thence into the Peloponnesus; and, in an adventure in which he had entered the city of Argus, was killed by a stone.

Meanwhile, the Romans gained possession of Apulia and Calabria, together with the country of the Salentines, and by the joint influence of their clemency and their valor, all

Italy, from the borders of Cisalpine Gaul to the Sicilian straits, became subject to their sway.

SECTION VI.

THE INTERNAL CONSTITUTION OF ROME.

These ancient times, while Rome was still perpetually engaged in dangerous contests, and was yet full of life and vigor, were the best days of the republic. The constitution became more popular, but the forum was filled, not by a crowd of mechanics or mariners, but by warriors, whom the senate felt the necessity of treating with forbearance, but with firmness, while they sought to gain the tribunes by kind treatment. They deprecated the idea of corrupting the morals of the people in order to maintain the forms of the constitution.

Rome underwent one of her greatest perils when Terentillus carried his proposal for compiling a code of civil laws; for until this time, precedent and natural equity had been the foundation of government. The senate, who saw in this measure the limitation of their power, and an occasion for great disturbances, deferred it till the ninth year; but the time came, when they were obliged to submit. The Athenians who flourished under Pericles were then petitioned for a copy of the laws of Solon.

Such was the model on which the Twelve Tables were composed, the simple beginning of that manifold and perfect system of legislation, which, during the next thousand years, was established by the people, and afterwards by the emperors; which was compiled during an age of general ruin, and after long oblivion restored, in the twelfth century, to an equally extensive sway; and which, though it yields justly to national laws, will ever be revered as a noble monument, and a work deserving of the most attentive study.

The decemviri, the authors of the Twelve Tables, had the boldness to attempt an unjust prolongation of their ex-

traordinary power, and the imprudence to abuse it with degrading levity. They imagined that licentiousness would be more pleasing to the young Patricians, and an oligarchy, hateful to the people, more agreeable to the old senators, than the constitution established by usage and crowned with fame, and that there would be found neither enough of virtue and ability in the senate, nor of valor in the people, to effect the overthrow of their unjust tyranny. The decemviri fell in consequence of an injury which Appius inflicted on Virginia, but the Twelve Tables survived; for the people distinguished the baseness of the authors from the merit of the work.

By degrees the aristocracy lost its preponderancy, as the Plebeians attained an equal degree of opulence with the Patricians, and as their families intermarried. Where manners are the same, there must be an equality of rights. Though the nobility seemed to be injured by this change, yet the whole people was elevated to nobler sentiments; the Plebeians were chosen into the consulate, and Plebeian consuls defended Rome against the Cimbri and Catiline.

SECTION VII.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE CONSTITUTION OF ROME.

The two consuls held the highest place in the Roman republic. All other magistrates and officers, except the tribunes alone, were subject to them. They introduced the ambassadors of foreign nations to the senate; they presided in that body, and executed its decrees; it was their duty also to harangue the popular assembly, and declare on which side the majority of votes had fallen; they levied and assembled the troops; they exacted the contingents from the allies of Rome; they appointed the tribunes of the legions, and military discipline was so completely under their administration, that they had full power to punish all offences during the campaign, and in the field of battle.

They were empowered to make every expenditure which

seemed necessary, and they gave their commands to the quæstors for this purpose.

The censors elected the senate, according to a law which required a sufficient property to secure independence. It was not necessary to be an hereditary citizen, and Appius Claudius, the first of his family, obtained in a few years the highest dignities.

The number of the senators amounted to six hundred. They managed the finances, examined public accounts, assigned expenditures, including the great sums which the censors every five years allotted to the public buildings and improvements for the ornament and use of the city. The senate presided over the management of public business, of the relations of Rome with Italy, and with foreign kings and nations, to whose ambassadors they gave audience, and with whom they had the power of declaring war or concluding peace, alliances, or leagues of defence; they formed the highest court of judicature in cases of treason, conspiracies, murder, and the administering of poison.

The monarchy survived in the consulate, particularly during war, when more exact obedience and speedy execution required unity of power. The aristocracy resided in the senate or the assembly of rich citizens who had the most to lose. They had powers which enabled them to moderate the military ardor of the consuls and their thirst of conquest.

Yet all the affairs of chief importance were brought before the popular assembly, which bestowed the highest dignities in the state; so that, in order to obtain an occasion of displaying other virtues, the young citizen was in the first place obliged, by pleasing manners and modesty, to acquire the love, and, by a grave deportment and good morals, to obtain the respect of the people. The greatest men could not neglect this care; on the days of election even Augustus used to flatter the people, who never lost their importance until after the Comitiæ were abolished. The magistrates, after their election, were far from having it in their power to recompense themselves by haughtiness for their former condescension; the authorities conferred lasted only for a year; and complaints and condemnation

for the abuse of power, before the assembly from whom it was derived, were to be feared. Life and death depended on the decree of this tribunal; and no Roman citizen was regularly condemned to death except by it. So long as a single tribe had not given its vote, it was allowed to the accused to prevent punishment, by a flight from the city, though his exile extended no further than the neighboring Tiber or the pleasant abode of Neapolis. By this method precipitate judgments might be recalled, and the people who had been influenced by the tribunes, often received back in triumph those who had fled for a time from their fury. The most glorious days of Metellus, and of Cicero, were those when they returned from banishment. This same assembly, which gave executive power, and were the judges of its exercise, held the legislative authority; but laws were brought before them, according to a decree of the senate and by the motion of the tribunes. They gave decisive force to declarations of war, or to the treaties which were concluded by the senate.

The Roman people, powerful as they were, and possessing the means of doing the greatest mischief, and of arresting the whole business of the state, never abused their authority during four hundred years. They never refused support to their country; they were always noble, magnanimous, proud, full of reverence towards virtue and the laws, and in all great exigencies, in war, in the forum, or in the field of Mars, worthy of themselves; until the riches of Asia, and the excessive corruption of the great, deformed their character.

From all this it appears how the powers of the state were balanced. A consul, who attempted to govern without the senate, would have found himself destitute of the means of paying, supporting, or clothing his soldiers; and the republic fell, when private citizens became rich enough to maintain an army. The senate only was permanent; and alone had the power of conferring on the consul, when he marched against the enemy, the supreme command of the forces. In every constitution a permanent body is useful for maintaining the principles of government. The triumph, the reward of victory, depended on the recognition of the

senate, who defrayed the necessary cost. A consul who adhered solely to the senate, and neglected the people, was hindered by the latter from enjoying the triumph, and all were obliged finally to give an account to the people; without which ratification all the compacts entered into were null and void.

What power had the senate of infringing upon general liberty? The veto of a tribune put an end to its deliberations, the lives of its members depended on the people, and their influence and dignity, which were far dearer to them than their lives, depended on laws which the people could alter. On the other hand they had two methods of intimidating demagogues: the judicial office was in their hands, and for a long time the laws were incomplete and indefinite, and left much to arbitrary decision; secondly, those persons were obliged to have respect to the senate, who took contracts for effecting public works, for forming canals, aqueducts, dams, havens, bridges, roads; for working mines, and for other similar undertakings. Companies joined by subscription were accustomed to engage in these affairs, for which they were obliged to give security, and to borrow money from rich men. The senate adjudged every thing which had relation to such matters, and it was thus easy for an individual to make or ruin his fortune.

The commoner was obliged to respect the consul. Did he not entirely depend upon him in war? and what was to be gained by refusing obedience? A dictator would have been appointed, an authority equally terrible to the enemies of the senate and of Rome.

Thus their constitution afforded the Romans, in times of need, all the energy of a whole people, and all the rapidity of action which belongs to a concentrated power, while both were moderated by the wisdom of the senate; in times of peace, while the wheels of government were in collision, occasions of internal commotions frequently occurred, but the balance of power prevented great excesses. Accordingly there were disquiets but no disorders, and the perpetual movement only testified the life of the whole body.

SECTION VIII.

THE MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE ROMANS.

In the history of every people, our chief observation should be directed to those points in which they are most distinguished. We learn maritime affairs from the English, mechanical arts from the Dutch, the fine arts at Florence, the moderate enjoyment of liberty in Switzerland, and the art of war from Rome.

The first Roman army was a *legion* or *selection* from the citizens who were able to bear arms. The troops which were called legions varied between the numbers of 4200 and 12,800 men. Two legions were raised by each consul, before whom the whole people was assembled; in the first place the military tribunes were named, and no citizen could avoid taking his part in the service, if he had not before his forty-sixth year made sixteen campaigns on foot or ten on horseback; in times of exigency the foot-soldiers were bound to twenty campaigns. Before a Roman had performed at least ten, he was not allowed to be a candidate for any public office. The poor had no part in the service, because it was not expedient to intrust the fate of the country to persons who had nothing to lose; an estate of a certain value was also required in order to be enrolled by the censors among the Roman knights, who constituted in the beginning the cavalry of the republic. While the levy was carried on in the Capitol at Rome, it was conducted in the like manner in Latium and other countries of the allies, according to the mandate of the consul.

A Roman army seldom contained more than 40,000 men; the supplies and military discipline were, therefore, easily maintained, while the armed crowds of the oriental nations wasted their own strength. Rome, indeed, in important wars maintained several armies, to the end that the ruin of the republic might not be incurred by one error or misfortune. Yet the force of her armies in all parts of the empire during the most flourishing times of the Cæsars never surpassed the number of 400,000 men.

The infantry from the beginning formed the main strength of the army; for the first wars were carried on in intersected and hilly tracts, where cavalry were less serviceable. The war on the African plains was indeed very difficult to the Romans, and the light cavalry of the Parthians was never conquered by them. They found, besides, that horses were more easily terrified and thrown into disorder by elephants, camels, and the manifold war-shouts of their various enemies, than infantry, which were well trained to brave all dangers. Infantry was more readily brought to a certain degree of perfection than cavalry.

The Romans did not consider it necessary that the soldier should be of great stature; large bodies cannot easily support so much fatigue as those of smaller bulk. The barbarians disdained the small stature of the Roman troops.*

The love for their country, and the great interests that were at stake, gave to the armies of the Romans an impulse very different from the motives of the Carthaginian and Asiatic soldiery, who fought only for pay.

The legion consisted of two kinds of soldiery; the light armed troops went before, and the main body followed. The latter, as far as the situation allowed, were drawn out in three lines, called the Hastarii, Principes, and Triarii, which were so placed that each rank might receive the others into its intervals; an order of battle which may be compared to the divisions of a chess-board. Each rank was divided into 120 manipuli, of which two formed a century and three a cohort. The division by centuries was the most ancient; the arrangement by cohorts was introduced by Marius, when he wished to give greater strength to his onset and defence. Each manipulus in the two first ranks consisted of 120 men; and in the third of half as many. The cohort was thirty strong in front and ten deep; alterations could not fail to be introduced in the course of so many wars, and during the dominion of the emperors; but the distinguishing principle of the legionary order,

* Brevitatem corporum nostrorum. CÆSAR.

that facility in adopting any arrangement suited to circumstances, was ever preserved.

The vacant spaces in the second rank were wide enough to receive the troops of the first; those of the first to contain the troops of the second; and the intervals of the third and second were in like proportion to the manipuli of each. The battle began with the movement of the advanced troops or of the slingers and bowmen; the latter had wooden arrows, three feet long, armed with iron points, and the former balls of lead or stone. After these troops had dispersed themselves on the flanks of the army, the Hastarii threw their spears or pikes, which were seven feet long, and had crooked points; these stuck in the shields of the enemy and impeded his movements. While he was thus engaged, and his lines exposed, the Hastarii drew their swords, of which they often wore two on the right side, while the shield hung on their left arm. The spears, which were a Sabine weapon, and had the name of *Quiris* in the country where they were invented, gave to the Romans, whose distinguishing arms they were, the appellation of *Quirites*. The fate of battles was, however, generally decided by the sword. The second rank was armed like the first, and the Triarii bore a pike longer and lighter than the spear. The cavalry, who were dispersed on the flanks, unless where, as in the Parthian war, they formed a separate troop, bore lances and large sabres. The covering arms of the foot soldier were a helmet reaching down to the shoulder, from which hung a plume, a cuirass down to the knee, and a light and easily movable shield, which afforded protection against arrows. The cavalier also had a helmet; he wore a longer shield, a rough coat of mail, and small boots, and the skin of a beast was thrown over his horse. The light troops had, besides the helmet, a very light shield.

The foremost rank, strong in itself and in the confidence of such support, was full of ambition to obtain the victory by its own valor; the second rank was zealous, in case of need, to give aid to those in whom Rome had first confided. If the fight came to the third, then were combined patriotism and the thirst of military fame, the fear of punishment and reproach, revenge and hatred, the remembrance of

former dangers, and the prospect of future glory. Thus the enemy, already exhausted by a double contest, beheld the Romans ready for a third encounter, stronger, more impetuous, and more formidable. They had hazarded enough for victory, and not so much as to expose them to the risk of a complete defeat. The legion had a front sufficiently extended to render it difficult to outflank it, and sufficient depth to give power to its onset and to render its ranks hard to penetrate. Palladio therefore judged rightly of the Romans when he said, that "the legion could fight every where and at all times, while the Macedonian phalanx could only find one time and place where it could exist with advantage."

Sixteen thousand three hundred and eighty-four heavy-armed foot soldiers, drawn out in sixteen ranks, forming a front of 1024 men with 8192 of light infantry, and 4096 of cavalry, constituted the complete phalanx of the Macedonians. In the place of the Roman spear these troops bore pikes twenty-four feet long, with which they were so arranged, that the weapons of the sixth rank reached out three feet beyond the men of the first row. The infantry of the phalanx was divided into sixty-four xenagies of 256 each, the cavalry into epilarchies of 128; the whole body was rendered manageable by the radical number consisting of sixteen, which is susceptible of an easy augmentation or diminution. On the other hand the pikes could neither be used nor could so wide a front be drawn out except on an extensive plain. It was more difficult in its movements because it stood closer and had fewer intervals than the legion. The phalanx indeed in a country which was suited to it was more irresistible and impenetrable; but the legion assumed with facility various dispositions. Under some great commanders the phalanx has been drawn out on the plan of the legion, and Marius caused the legion to approximate to the arrangement of the phalanx; the weapons constituted, and ever remained the chief distinction, and the spear had a manifest advantage over the pike. The light troops called Peltastæ, which Iphicrates borrowed from the Thracians and introduced into the Grecian army, had more resemblance to the Roman legion; the Peltastæ served the

Grecian kings for their body guard. The Ptolemies had, besides, a cavalry like that of our ancestors, so covered with a coat of mail from head to foot that their eyes alone were visible. This costume was preserved in Arabia, and appears in the military history of the Mohammedans.

The Roman station was a square, surrounded with a ditch ten feet deep, and with a wall provided with a breastwork. The wall was built of stones. Strong branches of trees fixed into the earth, the sharp points of which, hardened by fire, projected obliquely and crossed each other, secured the breastwork. Bastions rose out of it higher than the rest of the rampart, and of a horse-shoe form, whence the flanks of the enemy, who was advancing to storm, and his soldiery who were hidden under pent-houses, might be assailed with projectile weapons. In the circumvallation every post was strong in itself, so that it was capable of defence after the loss of the others. In the interior, the whole encampment had the form and disposition of an army standing in battle array. It was fortified, if it were only erected for a single night; since nothing is found to entail misfortune on great occasions so surely as the neglect of those which occur every day. The young warriors were exercised not only in the use of arms and in evolutions, but in all that renders the body strong and agile. Thus they accustomed themselves to all seasons and climates, and while even those of Italy destroyed multitudes of the barbarians, the Italians governed the world because nothing was to them insupportable. The Roman soldiers were taught to swim through rivers, to keep up with horses in running, to jump down from their horses and to spring up again without stopping. They sought to bring the army to that degree of perfection, that no sort of warfare should appear new to it, and no exigency should find it without resources. Thereby they attained that alacrity, that aptitude in exertions, by which the true enjoyment of life is best promoted. To their perseverance in the perpetual study of that peculiar art of Rome, to their conviction that it is never to be thoroughly learnt, to their mutual emulation were they indebted for their unrivalled excellence. May every man follow this

example in the conduct of his life, and in the warfare against himself!

Secrecy was so rigidly observed, that the soldier was often ignorant against what enemy he was to be led, and the spies were even deceived by the appearance of feigned enterprises. The general on the march assumed the appearance of that confidence which he wished to infuse into his army, yet omitted in no instance to watch over every thing with distrust. He rather preferred those movements which seemed most improbable, that the enemy might not be prepared, and the most difficult enterprises, because they awaken all the dormant powers of action. The march proceeded in columns; on approaching the enemy, the order* of battle was assumed, or such a disposition, that four columns in an insecure country might receive the baggage into the midst.† On the retreat, two long squares were formed with bodies of reserve, before and behind, by means of which, in case of pressing need, they drew themselves out crosswise,‡ in order to avoid the weakness of angles. The baggage of the army was not great; every one carried provender; and the machines were prepared on the spot. The marches were difficult, because every thing was hostile, and even the rustics were so much the less to be trusted, as the wars of nation against nation excite a more general interest. Yet local difficulties were not much dreaded, because they were foreseen, and correct military discipline left it not in the power of the peasantry to commit much injury. Discipline was, besides, necessary for the maintenance of good morals and subordination, for the loss of which no conquest can make amends. The country-people, moreover, whose feelings are open to such impressions, perceived this regularity of conduct, and became favorable to the Romans, by which cause the procuring of supplies was facilitated. To subdued nations chiefs were given, who had to thank Rome for everything, and could not subsist without fidelity. They left to the people sufficient opulence to bind them to their duty with

* Triplici acie. † Quadrato agmine. ‡ In orbem

golden chains, knowing that the despair of those who have lost all, is fertile in resources.

Macchiavelli remarked, with justice, that the Romans were fond of short and severe wars.* The battles were bloody, but even the wars between Rome and Carthage were decided in little more than sixty years, while, in later times, the struggle of two great European powers lasted 280 years, from the battle of Nancy, without being finally concluded. But the modern states have longer maintained their security, from the nature of their constitutions and the equality of several great monarchies.

The Roman armies were greedy of battle, yet the conflict was seldom risked without a good computation of probabilities, and a due regard to the voice of the legions. An influence was obtained over the latter, through the means of inquiries into the will of the gods, by searching the entrails of victims, by the flight of birds, by the vivacity of the sacred fowls, and other signs; but the sacerdotal dignity was connected with the political and military, so that the direction remained in proper hands. These customs were gradually laid aside on the decline of the old religion.

When in countries where the genius of man is most fertile in invention, nations altogether military labor during their whole career in bringing to perfection the art of war, that bulwark of their freedom, that instrument of their glory, and combine every species of craft with the highest degree of valor, what treasures of military observations may be anticipated in their writings! In this respect, they are alike deserving the attention of the warrior, and of him who inquires into the progress and powers of the human mind. Although the modern weapons have been much changed; yet the chief maxims are preserved, especially those which have reference to the unchanging condition of human nature.

The Romans exerted themselves to acquire accurate knowledge of the character of the nations against whom they had to measure their power and skill. They were

* Corte e grosse.

contented to await the furious and overwhelming onset of the Gauls; they acted when the enemy began to be exhausted and weary, and with so much the greater energy as they were aware how quickly the spirit of that people was broken by misfortunes.

When they made choice of a field of battle they took care to give their own army such a position that the sun might not dazzle them, but that the splendor of their polished arms might shine with terrific effect in the eyes of the enemy.* Short speeches delivered by the generals excited the courage of the soldier, upon which at that time the event chiefly depended. The orders of battle have been variously described in the books above quoted, and by Ælian and the Emperor Leo the sixth. Yet we find in Leo this error, that the wedge-shaped order is represented as ending at its apex in a single man. How would it be possible to penetrate the ranks with so weak a point? The wedge † was a column which was discharged suddenly from the lines, and rushed with all the force of a well-supported mass against the weakest quarter of the enemy. Against the wedge, the Romans opposed the forceps: the ranks opened with the greatest rapidity to receive the wedge, and the troops then marched in on both sides, fell upon it on the flanks, and committed the greatest slaughter on the column which was thus inclosed, and could not make a retrograde movement on account of the depth of the lines. As little were they afraid of the half moon; they feigned a flight, that the centre might be tempted to advance in order to have a share of the victory; this was not done without some confusion of its lines; and instantly they rushed to the close encounter. In the advance, when light troops were wanting, they formed with their shields the testudo or figure of the tortoise, which protected the heads and fronts of the first ranks against missile weapons.

From the first triumph of Romulus, to the solemnity which was celebrated on the destruction of Jerusalem, this noble spectacle was three hundred and twenty times the reward of Roman generals. The degrees in the army

* Δεινὴ δστραπὴ πολεμοῦ. ONOSANDER. † Cuneus.

were very numerous. From the last centurion of the last manipulus of the first line to the primipilatus there were sixty steps. The choice of the generals did not depend on the number of years of service; often the leader who had triumphed served under his successor, and the father under the command of his son; indolence and want of ability were the only obstacles to promotion.

The military tribunes watched over the police of the army, the exercises of the troops, the supplies of provisions, and the hospitals. Their office was at first the reward of long services; and it afterwards served as a school for young officers. Each soldier had the number of his legion, cohort, and decury engraved on his helmet. Every man fought among his own countrymen, whose opinion must ever remain for himself and family either the best reward or the most inevitable and severe punishment. The old military history is rich in those prodigies of friendship which the associated enjoyment of the best days of life, and the remembrance of common dangers in war, naturally inspires. With respect to booty, Onosander has well said that his share of it belongs to the soldier, on the same principle which in the chace allots to the hound the blood and entrails of the beast. Another portion was set aside for the pay of the troops and the sick. The remainder flowed into the treasury in the temple of Saturn, in order that one war might provide a fund for the next, and that each victory might be made the instrument of another. For some centuries the warriors acquired no riches for themselves; Paulus Æmilius, when he had deposited in the treasury a sum greater than forty-five millions of livres, left no marriage-portion for his daughter, nor for his widow the value of her dowry. The conquered land was shared out as a recompense to the soldiery; and from the rise of the military colony of Ivrea, or Eporedia, in the sixteenth consulate of C. Marius, no settlements were made on any other plan. The soldier who had saved the life of a citizen, who had killed his enemy, or maintained his post as long as the contest continued, obtained as his reward the civic crown. It was intended that each man should exert himself as much for his comrade as for the highest officer,

and therefore the same crown was the only reward for saving the life of the general. This badge was worn during life, and when a plebeian entered the theatre with it on his head, the senators arose from their seats, and the parents of the fortunate man obtained an exemption from all taxes. He who had saved the whole army or the camp, obtained, by the decree of the senate and people, the crown of grass. When the younger Decius, the consul who fell heroically in the war of the Samnites, obtained this honor, he offered to the gods a hundred oxen. L. Siccius Dentatus gained it after he had fought against the enemy the 120th time. The life of this heroic warrior, his speech to the people, and the shameful manner in which he was brought to his death by the great, have been described by Dionysius in a manner worthy of the theme.

The law of war was severe, but the general was mild, in order that the former might create dread, and that the love and confidence which the latter inspired might be unmixed. If any man had deserted his post, or thrown away his arms, or fought without orders, or claimed as his own exploits the praise-worthy actions of another, he was publicly tried; and if he was found guilty, the commander touched him with his staff, whereupon he had permission to fly, but his comrades were ordered to put him to death. When a whole troop was found guilty of cowardice, it was surrounded by the army: every tenth man was punished with death, and the rest, being marked with the branding iron, were consigned to perpetual disgrace. In the old times, example, and the name of Rome, had greater power than the laws possessed in the later periods of corruption. Never did the Roman army appear greater than when their fortune deserted them, for then they sacrificed every thing to honor. In those days, such an act was not called the effect of prejudice. It appeared honorable to human nature to uphold a little republic in a contest against greater power, to render it by its principles invincible, flourishing by valor, great by illustrious achievements, to evince constancy under calamity, vigilance in prosperity, and ever to hold the grand object steadily in view. Thus was the enervating influence of a southern climate over-

come; thus lived the ancients, exalted in the simplicity of their character, in constant energy equal to themselves, full of the thought of transmitting their short existence to the honorable memory of future generations, by imperishable exploits and monuments. The lot of humanity has long ago attained them, but not until they had done every thing in order to leave Rome victorious and free; not until they had braved the enemy in the instant of death, and in the last moment enjoyed by anticipation the wonder and love of all ages and nations. How enviable was their lot, if, as they hoped, the souls of great men perish not in the dust!

The most eminent of the old writers on the military affairs of the Romans have been enumerated above. The ages in which they lived are not difficult to distinguish.

The elder Scipio followed the old style of warfare, which his genius applied to more recent exigencies. As no general fought with so many and such valiant nations as Cæsar, the most various forms appear in his history; he has not so much a peculiar manner in his military dispositions, as the possession in himself of all the secrets of the art; the perpetual exercise of his genius in the greatest affairs and most extensive schemes, elevated him above all particulars.

SECTION IX.

AUTHORS WHO HAVE WRITTEN PARTICULARLY ON THE MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE ROMANS.

The great examples which we have been contemplating were illustrated by Nicolao Macchiavelli, at the revival of letters, and set before his contemporaries, in a work which displays much reflection and abounds with eloquence; few modern authors have written so clearly and in so simple and dignified a style. He excited the attention of skilful generals in France and Italy; some alterations were adopted in the armies, but they were neither complete nor conducted on sound principles.

The writings of Maurice Prince of Orange and of the Duke de Rohan, prove equally the great ability of the

authors, and the imperfect state of the military art, as it existed in their times.

The captains who were formed under Gustavus Adolphus understood better the manner of that great commander, than the works of antiquity, by the study of which they might have made a further progress.

The first great work written with this view was the production of the French Chevalier de Folard,* who combined a glowing imagination with fine acquisitions of knowledge; he believed in the wonders of his columns, as devoutly as in the miracles of Jansenism; but his books contain very sound observations.

Puysegur† was older, but his works appeared later; he was a writer of cooler temperament, and therefore more secure of his ground; but wanted a fundamental acquaintance with the ancients.

The Marshal Saxe studied diligently Polybius and Vegetius (in French), and Onosander's book was his breviary; he formed his opinion of the ancients with that correct judgment which was his peculiar talent; he often arrived at the same principles which are found among the Romans, and in many respects deserves to be compared to the Roman warriors.

The military inquiries of Charles Guischard, whom Frederick called Quintus Icilius, are superior in learning to all earlier productions, and are necessary for improving the translations from the ancients. There is on the other hand a variety of suggestions in his works, which would not have remained without answers if this laborious nobleman had enjoyed a longer life.

The letters of the Chevalier Algarotti, in reference to these subjects, are written in the best taste; his opinions

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* The Chevalier de Folard was the author of several works on the art of war, the most celebrated of which was his "Commentaries on Polybius," in six volumes 4to. The chief peculiarity in his method consisted in the system of columns, which he developed in his writings. He was connected with those who supported the pretended miracles of the Abbé Paris. T.

† The Marquis de Puysegur, Marshal of France, was the author of a celebrated work on the "Military Art," which was published after his death. T.

were for the most part those of the monarch* whose friendly conversation he enjoyed.

SECTION X.

THE MANNERS OF THE ROMANS.

Though so many nations beheld the rise and dominion of Rome, and contemplated her greatness with envy and wonder, yet was Rome never the object of imitation. Nothing, indeed, in the course of human affairs, is to be obtained by single and separate efforts; every phenomenon has its period fixed by a thousand connected circumstances; and Roman tactics, without Roman manners, could never have maintained so long the freedom, or extended so widely the dominion of the state.

The city of Rome, after it was rebuilt, (for the Gauls burnt the greater part of it,) was gradually improved; yet it always contained many houses of wood and many of bricks; the streets were irregular, for the most part narrow, and the houses very high. The law, that none of those in the principal streets should exceed seventy feet in height, was introduced in the time of Augustus, who established regulations for security against fires. The oldest work that has been maintained from the time of the kings to the present day, are the astonishing Cloacæ, which preserved the cleanliness of the city; cleanliness indeed was a point of religion amongst the nations of antiquity. The aqueducts remain from the time of the consuls; the town had within its walls only the fountain of Juturna. The modern Rome is built on the site of the ancient field of Mars, a spot no less venerable than the Olympic Stadium, where the Romans practised the gymnastic exercises, which, as among the Greeks, contributed not a little to their military fame.

At the beginning of the consulate, the city was nearly as populous as it is now. It afterwards extended itself so

* Viz. Frederick the Great.

widely, that the neighboring towns became suburbs to it. Although Lucan's expression, that it was capable of containing the whole human race,* is doubtless the bold exaggeration of a poet, it is yet certain that the extent of the city was wonderfully great. Pliny says, in reproach, that the kitchens in the palaces of the great occupied as much ground as formed in earlier times the estate of a citizen. The manners of antiquity were only to be traced in books, and in the lives of a few senators.

The old Romans were warlike husbandmen, equally occupied in time of peace in making conquests over the nature of the soil, which was originally sterile, and in subduing their enemies during war. Every individual cultivated his two acres, which was as much land as a yoke of oxen could plough in two days. The Lentuli, the Pisones, the Fabii, obtained from the lentils, the pulse, the beans which they were noted for cultivating with skill, those surnames which were afterwards joined to titles derived from the nations they had conquered. They wore clothes prepared by their wives and daughters from the fleeces and skins of their herds; the robes made by Queen Tanaquil for the first Tarquin were preserved in the time of the Cæsars, and the imperial Augustus wore vestments which were woven by the hands of Livia. The ancients may rather be said to have possessed property than riches;† oxen held the place of money. Pieces of gold, representing the value of the oxen which were engraven on them,‡ were coined by order of King Servius; but silver money was not invented till two centuries after the consulate was established. Territorial domains constituted the riches of the state, and were let out for a rent, which increased the public stock. Within three centuries and a half, enough land had been brought by consular labor into cultivation, and enough conquered in addition, to distribute seven acres to each citizen. Afterwards, when the neighboring states were depopulated by wars, and many of their inhabitants had resorted to Rome, the landholders so greatly increased

* "Generis humani coëat si turba capacem."
† Locupletes. ‡ Hence named Pecunia.

their possessions, that on the proposal of Licinius Stolo, five hundred acres were allowed to one citizen. As conquests were multiplied, moderation was lost sight of. Hence the laws of the Gracchi, the pretext of faction, attempts which entailed ruin on the republic. At length Italy, which, if frugally cultivated, would have required no foreign aid, became a mere pleasure-garden for the enjoyment of the great, and depended for sustenance on the harvests of Ætna, of Sardinia, and the banks of the Nile. The kings of the earth had no bread to eat, and it was not till the time of Augustus that they learnt to establish magazines.

In the bosom of rural life the greatest generals, the most valiant warriors, and the best citizens were formed; the thirty-one tribes of rustics were so much more esteemed, that it was almost considered ignominious to belong to the four city tribes. It was thus that Curius was bred, who disdained the offers of the king of Epirus, while crowned with laurels he put his hand again to the plough, to cultivate his four acres of land on the Vatican hills. With the same spirit he declared in the forum that he must be a bad Roman for whom ten acres were not an ample possession. Thus lived Attilius Regulus, who terrified the proud Carthage with the arms of his country, and who possessed no other property than one of the most barren pieces of ground in the Roman territory. The censors knew not how to give the best senator a nobler testimony than that he was also a frugal husbandman and a good father of his family.

The conquests of Rome thus contributed to the culture of western Europe; the agriculturists who overcame the great Antiochus, the proud Philip, and Mithridates, brought many kinds of pulse and many fruit-trees into Italy; accordingly apples, cherries, and many other fruits, were in a few generations propagated as far as Britain. From Rome the olive-tree was brought into Spain and Gaul. In the north the Romans planted the first fields of pulse. Flowers were their delight, and their houses had no other ornaments than flower-pots placed in the windows. Wine in the time of the Samnite war was yet poured by drops on the altars, and no man blamed Mecianus for putting his wife to death because she had drunk wine without his knowledge. But

so generously did Italy repay the care of the husbandman, that more than eighty sorts of country wine became celebrated. The generals and senators followed in their country-seats occupations which were suited to their genius; as the Achæan Philopœmen in every walk proposed to his young friends problems on military positions, and exercised their quickness of discernment, so Marius was seen to lay out his Misenian estate after the manner of an encampment. Military discipline, political wisdom, popularity, and temperance, found their sphere of action in domestic affairs. In general the ancients were frugal of time, and they were thus enabled to accomplish what according to our manners requires more than one life.

In this point of view it might be maintained, that they were longer lived. Life is the conscious feeling, the enjoyment of our faculties, which the exercise of them alone can give. However, the number of healthy old men in Italy was uncommonly great; in a small tract of country in the reign of Vespasian, fifty-four persons were enumerated who had attained their hundredth year, forty who were between the hundred and tenth and hundred and fortieth, and two individuals who had lived above a century and a half. It is well known that persons were appointed to read aloud at the table and at the bath, in order that even that portion of time which was devoted to the body might not be altogether lost for the mind. There were no common societies of both sexes; the games were barbarous but magnificent, and by means of them all classes, old men and both sexes, were rendered familiar with blood, with death, and the most terrific scenes; they beheld the art of man matched in contest with the strength of the most ferocious beasts, as in the games in which Pompey set loose at once 600 lions into the arena, and in those in which Augustus brought to view 420 panthers. The Romans were less afraid of that brutality which is in itself revolting, than of enervating softness which appears attractive and half meritorious, while it deprives the mind of all energy and vigor.

Every kind of trade was allowed to the Carthaginians; in Rome it was only permitted to slaves; that corruption,

so fashionable in Greece, was held most disgraceful at Rome till an unbounded opulence imparted a degree of boldness that brooked no restraint.

At the funerals the bodies of the chief citizens were brought into the forum, dressed in their robes of state, and placed before the rostrum; a son or near relative of the deceased pronounced an oration on the common loss which had been sustained; the orator beheld in long rows upon their curule seats the images of his forefathers clothed in their consular, pretorian, or triumphal robes. What generous citizen would have refused to die for a people in whose remembrance he was to live for ever?

The fear of the gods maintained itself more than 600 years; Polybius justly remarked, that "wise men do not stand in need of superstition, but that cities are inhabited by a populace." He confesses that when a man lent a sum of gold to a Greek, the ten-fold subscription of his name, as many seals, and twice as many witnesses, were often found insufficient to prevent him from attempting to defraud; while at Rome, in the management of the greatest sums, malversations were at that time unheard of, and fraud was there as uncommon as integrity and confidence elsewhere; "but Athens," continues he, "was from the beginning like a noble ship without a rudder; and Carthage is now what Rome will hereafter become; for Rome herself will be ruined by riches; the people will then be contented with nothing, and will fall under the yoke of demagogues who will pretend to bestow every thing upon them."

Thus far on the military discipline, on the laborious life, on the dignity and greatness of the Romans, of whom it is as difficult to restrain our eulogiums as to find matter for commendation in the history of other nations. Hereafter we shall contemplate the empire of the Arabs; but the latter was founded on an unequal contest of religious enthusiasm against nations degraded by superstition, disunited and oppressed by tyrants; we shall see Attila domineer from the Caspian lake to the plains of Chalons, and the Mongols from the sea of Japan to the Silesian forests; but the former shone and vanished like a meteor of the air,

and the latter were soon reduced within narrow limits. The Romans, after the war of Pyrrhus, overran all the countries which extend from Loch-Lomond, the Elbe, the Carpathian chain, and the borders of Russia, to the country of frankincense and myrrh, and the regions where the life of nature is extinguished in wastes of sand; yet at the end of 549 years they had not lost a single province.

SECTION XI.

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR, CISALPINE GAUL, DALMATIA.

The great cities of Sicily, for the most part exhausted by factions, had been obliged to suffer the half of that island to fall under the sway of Carthage, and the remainder was threatened by her arms. B. C. 404. Six years after the Sicilian war of Athens, Syracuse had fallen under the usurpation of Dionysius, one of the most able party leaders. This man, the son of a citizen of the highest estimation, was eminently skilled in all the arts of which tyrants avail themselves in order to found their usurpation on specious pretences and ostentatious merits. His fault was an inordinate love of power, in consequence of which Dionysius clouded his own virtues and precipitated the best citizens into indescribable calamities; after a very long administration he left to a son of the same name a sovereignty protected by an army of one hundred thousand foot soldiers, ten thousand cavalry, and a fleet of five hundred ships.

B. C. 367. The younger Dionysius did not inherit the strong understanding and talents of his father; his rival Dion, and afterwards Timoleon the Corinthian, took advantage of his weakness to destroy a sovereignty hated by the people; but passions and bad morals quickly debased the noble work of newly acquired freedom, and Agathocles made himself master of Syracuse.

This man, whose juvenile years had been stained by great excesses, displayed, as chief of Syracuse, eminent talents as well for military command as for the government of the multitude. He was the terror of the domestic enemy

of his power and of the Carthaginians. When the latter had defeated and believed him almost their captive, he suddenly carried the terror of his arms before the walls of Carthage, pointing out the way to the future enterprises of the Romans. After a long and illustrious reign, of which his uncommon talents rendered him worthy, Agathocles died in extreme old age, after the loss of his beloved son, and amidst the visible ruin of his power, in a state so lamentable and destitute, that in spite of his tyranny his misery excites compassion. B. C. 277.

The Syracusans, alike incapable of enjoying liberty and of submitting to be deprived of it, called in the king of Epirus. After Pyrrhus abandoned Sicily, all the political relations of its people became so confounded, that the Syracusans allied themselves with their own most formidable enemies the Carthaginians, in oppressing the Mamertines, who maintained themselves at Messina. B. C. 263. The latter had the Romans for their allies, and hence the origin of the first Punic war.

Rome with all the power of Italy waged this war against the greatest commercial city of the world, which held under its sway the warlike population of Spain, the formidable cavalry of Africa, the fruitful plains of Sicily, and many other islands and coasts. The virtue of Carthage was already on the decline; but she had yet Hamilcar, Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and sufficient power to support the enterprises of these great generals.

As the Romans had never carried on a maritime war, they now sought to make the best use of the method of fighting in which they had become so illustrious. They fought from the decks of their ships, and laid hold of the vessels of the enemy by means of grappling irons, boarded them, and terminated the battle in close conflict. The Carthaginians were brought by the inventive genius of Rome into an embarrassment similar to that of the regularly trained fighter, when assailed by the unruly boldness and address of an untaught adversary. The Carthaginian ships were better as trading vessels than as ships of war; they were defeated by Decilius. The defenceless colonies of Carthage were conquered, and

Regulus appeared at the gates of the capital. There Xanthippus, a Lacedæmonian, who had entered into the service of the republic, assisted the Africans, and the valiant consul was overcome by his superior tactics. Wherever the Carthaginians fought by themselves they were beaten, and Hamilcar Barcas was alone able to resist; but a decisive defeat in the seas of the Ægatian isles reduced the commonwealth to the necessity of making peace. B. C. 240. Carthage was obliged to resign Sicily, and the Romans soon took possession of Corsica and Sardinia.

In the history of the first Punic war we observe in the Roman generals more courage than science, and this confirms the opinion that their military skill had scarcely begun to display itself in the wars against Pyrrhus and the Samnites. Carthage, whose whole power depended on mercenary troops, had to contend with an important rebellion which broke out among them after the conclusion of the peace, and scarcely were the talents and influence of Hamilcar sufficient to save the republic from destruction. Hamilcar was a general who possessed great perseverance and sagacity, and was the warm friend of his country.

After this war, the Romans conquered Cisalpine Gaul. This country lay between the Alps and the Apennine mountains; it extended to the mouths of the Po, and reached to a considerable distance on the other side of that river. The Apennine elevates itself as an arm of the Alps from the tract where the Alps themselves begin, and takes a course eastward from the mouths of the Varo to the Modenese; thence it turns towards the south, and divides Italy into two parts, forming a ridge which may be compared not with the Alps, but with the Jura, their northern arm, and which contains many traces of ancient fire which the Jura does not exhibit. The valley of Cisalpine Gaul was very marshy, and productive, as far as its inhabitants knew how to avail themselves of its natural fertility. The Gauls inhabited many cities of the Etruscans. The Ligurians were their neighbors on the mountains where Monaco, Oneglia, Genoa, and Modena now stand. These were a northern nation, important by their local situation,

of no great power, but so active and cunning, that it was difficult to be secure against them. Another ancient people, the Veneti, at the mouth of the Po, seem to have passed down from the forests of Germany, the ancient abode of the Wends.

Rome waged many wars with the Gauls and Ligurians, and against the former they were more successful. The latter often seemed to be subdued, but, confiding in themselves and their mountains, renewed the contest. Pasturage and mercenary warfare were their profession; and their mountains abound in the most inaccessible fastnesses.

The Romans subdued also the coasts of Liburnia and Dalmatia, extending from the termination of the Alps in Istria towards Epirus. The mountains which were difficult to penetrate remained independent.

SECTION XII.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

Soon afterwards, the most formidable general whom Rome ever saw opposed to her, disputed the rewards of her five centuries of victory. In the army which Hamilcar commanded in Spain for the defence of the mines and the subjugation of the wild inhabitants, far from the mean factions which destroyed the vigor of his country, he formed his son Hannibal in military discipline, in the knowledge of men, in the choice of advantageous positions, and in the bitter hatred of Rome, (B. C. 228.,) to the perpetual encouragement of which passion he bound him at an early age by a solemn oath. After the death of Hamilcar and his successor Hasdrubal, the army proclaimed this young warrior, who had then reached his twenty-sixth year, to be their general. B. C. 220. Soon afterwards he made an attack on the Saguntines, who were allies of the Romans. The Senate, instead of intimidating Carthage by a sudden rupture, undertook the method of mediation. The Saguntines, after a long and vain resistance, set fire to their city, and assembling themselves, died by their own hands

Hannibal, more and more inflamed, prevailed that war should be declared, and as the Romans on the last occasion had carried their arms to the walls of his paternal city, he now resolved in turn to attack them in Italy. He went over the Pyrenees, traversed Gaul to the confluence of the Saone with the Rhone, proceeded through the country of the Allobroges to the Alps, passed by a scarcely trodden path over the lofty Viso, and suddenly appeared in the plains of Turin. The Romans had not yet learnt how to fight in such a country, in subduing which they had not acquired sufficient experience. They waited for the enemy on the lower and usual road towards the sea and the Apennines, where it was possible to resist his progress. Hannibal's greatest art was the choice of advantageous situations, which he had learnt from his childhood among the deserts and mountains of Castile.

B. C. 216. He defeated the Romans from the banks of the Ticino to Apulia in four battles, which would have been ruinous to any other republic. What contributed to this calamity was, that Rome since the first Punic contest, scarcely employed with wars of less importance, had given herself up entirely to her internal affairs. Popular favor bestowed offices which required merit to plebeians, who opposed themselves to the senate, but who had not ability to resist Hannibal. Fabius alone saw through the secret of the progress of the Carthaginians; he was eminent in the same art; and being a man of great understanding, of advanced age, and of remarkable temper and moderation, he was able to restrain the impetuosity of others. The Romans had been defeated by their own fault; for, in the army of the enemy, the wisdom of Hannibal was the only circumstance that was truly formidable. After the slaughter of Cannæ, a calamity like that which the Athenians suffered in Sicily, or like the battle of Leuctra, or the great defeat of the host of Darius by Alexander, the counsels of Fabius were followed, who was satisfied with keeping his enemy employed. From that time, Hannibal loitered thirteen years in Italy without performing any of those exploits which the first terror of his arms had announced. Fortune scarcely crowned his efforts in determining for a time in

his favor the allies of Rome. He was frequently unsuccessful. B. C. 211. Syracuse, which, after death terminated the long reign of the wise king Hiero, had opposed itself to Rome, was taken by Marcellus at the end of a memorable siege. Hannibal was often obliged to remain for a time inactive, yet, though he was ill supported by Carthage, he maintained himself in Italy for the most part at the expense of the invaded country.

For a long time the Romans contented themselves with resisting his attacks; at length a youth educated amid dangers rescued them, and decided the fate of the contest. Scipio, as a warrior, is worthy of holding the next place to Cæsar; as a man and a citizen he stands before him. His military skill and the purity of his life gained him as strong a hold on the veneration of men, as that conqueror held in their affections by the gentleness of his manners. The army received his orders as oracles; they well knew that Scipio undertook nothing without the advice of the gods. After he had saved the life of his father in the first battle against the Carthaginians, and the latter had fallen together with his brother in fighting against the African host in Spain, Scipio resolved to avenge the shades of these warriors, and the cause of his country. His splendid virtues induced the old senators to lay aside their jealousies, and permit this youth to assume the command in the greatest war in which Rome was ever engaged; the same qualities gave him a victory over the corruption which had crept into the army; 12,000 women were banished by him from the camp; his own self-command, his good fortune in the most difficult enterprises, inspired the army with such confidence in him, that before him no enemy was looked upon as invincible. Accordingly, while the genius of Archimedes labored in vain to protect by inventions the city of Syracuse against the Romans, while Gracchus again conquered the island of Sardinia, and Hannibal's last resource, the reinforcements brought by his brother Hasdrubal were destroyed by Tiberius Nero, Scipio drove the enemy out of all his possessions in Spain, passed over the strait, and appeared in Africa.

Hannibal, with his declining army, still remained in Italy when Carthage summoned him to her own defence; for Massinissa, the most powerful chieftain of the country, had become the ally of Scipio. In the seventeenth year from his passage over the Alps, Hannibal left Italy, without having gained, after so many victories, one place from the Romans, whence it was possible to give them further molestation. Soon afterwards, the two generals in the plains of Zama fought a battle, which was to decide the contest of the two republics. Scipio opposed the flower of his troops to the weaker part of the enemy, that early success might inspirit his army, and give him an opportunity of falling on the flank of the best soldiers of Hannibal, while in the mean time a part of the troops who pursued the fugitives might return in time to attack the rear of those who yet stood their ground. On a similar plan, Hannibal designed, by means of his elephants, to break through the Roman lines, and then to bring his army to action at once on all sides. Scipio penetrated into this intention, and opposed a light armed infantry to the elephants. The elephants broke loose impetuously, and the Roman light troops made evolutions to right and left, with the greatest rapidity; their violent course not being checked by the guides, these animals rushed furiously forwards, and ran without committing any injury through the intervals which the Roman soldiery opened for them.

The troops immediately closed again when they had passed, and their general now developed his plan with that presence of mind for which he was remarkable. B. C. 201. In the 550th year from the building of Rome, Publius Cornelius Scipio, in a decisive battle, conquered Carthage, the only republic capable of contending with effect against the increasing greatness of Rome.

Nothing was left for the Carthaginians but to sue for peace; their city and its proper territory remained to them with such security as a disarmed republic can hope in the neighborhood of another which seldom forgot former dangers; they were obliged to give up their ships and abstain from future wars; all Numidia was given to their

enemy Massinissa, who watched them with suspicion and insulted them with impunity.

SECTION XIII.

THE MACEDONIAN AND SYRIAN WARS.

Next to Hannibal, Philip king of Macedonia, a descendant of Antigonus Gonatas, was the most important enemy of Rome, as long as he had the aid of the Illyrians, or was able to alarm Italy with the maritime power of Greece. He committed the error of leaving Carthage, with which he was in alliance, without support, while he employed himself unprofitably with lesser contests in Greece. The Greeks, in other respects learned, were too poor in their knowledge of foreign affairs to foresee consequences; they were too proud of their ancient victories to attach any importance to what was going on among strangers. At the same time, Philip had rendered himself contemptible and odious by his licentiousness and tyranny, and had forfeited confidence by failing in his engagements. He weakened himself by exciting among the Ætolians and Athenians apprehensions for their independence, instead of uniting all Greece in one common cause. Philip was capable of great exertion: cunning and vigilance were not wanting to him; and as a general he knew how to turn to good account the natural advantages of his country; but when the Romans came to the aid of Grecian liberty (for such was their profession) it appeared at Cynoscephalæ that Philip knew not how to render his phalanx sufficiently manageable in an intersected country, and he was accordingly defeated.

B. C. 196. As the Romans had granted independence to the city of Carthage, so they proclaimed the freedom of Greece, knowing that from the Grecian towns neither union nor any permanent exertions were to be apprehended. They became lords of the world, without suffering it to appear, and without seeming to conquer. If the Romans had adhered to this principle they might have remained

poor and powerful, free and irresistible, at the summit of human affairs.

As Macedonia had been conquered because the king, instead of waging war in alliance with Hannibal, had deferred it until the Romans were able to fall upon him with all their power, so Asia was still more easily subdued because it had taken no part in the fate of Macedonia.

Thoas was the leader of the Ætolians, that people whose restless spirit had distracted Greece, and who, by their connection with Rome, entailed the most imminent peril on all their neighbors. Thoas thought himself not sufficiently repaid for the services he had afforded the Romans, and sought to excite the jealousy of Antiochus, the descendant of Seleucus, against the common enemy of all monarchs.

From the ruins of old Troy to the Caucasus and the furthest confines of Media, the whole of Syria, Phœnice, Palestine, and lesser Asia, belonged to Antiochus the Great. Scarcely did he feel that the Parthians were no longer under his sway; the most beautiful, the most populous and flourishing provinces of the earth obeyed him. The first part of his reign had shone with glory, and he was by far the most powerful monarch of Asia. His activity only had diminished with increasing age. Antioch was one of the most voluptuous cities in the world; and there the great Antiochus slumbered under the laurels of his earlier years. At this time Hannibal fled to his court. A faction which had labored with keen animosity in opposition to his father's house had succeeded, with the aid of the Romans, in forcing this warrior to leave Carthage when he was attempting by the removal of many abuses to restore to the republic her internal strength. He supported Thoas, and they jointly succeeded in engaging Asia in a contest against the power of Rome.

Alexander's Argyraspidæ had long survived only in name; pomp prevailed in the place of true greatness; insubordination, effeminacy, and the arts of a court, had their seat at Antioch; and after war was declared, the counsels of Hannibal were not listened to with respect to the manner of conducting it. Crowned with garlands, surrounded with

eunuchs, by the sound of the flute and lyre, the great Antiochus went forth out of Asia on his elephant covered with splendid trappings at the head of 400,000 men. In silken and purple tents, before richly covered tables, and in the arms of voluptuousness, he expected to triumph over those whom Hannibal and Philip had not been able to withstand. Accordingly, Acilius Glabrio and Lucius Scipio brother of the great Scipio easily forced him, after he had been expelled from Greece by the battle of Thermopylæ (B. C. 189.) and had suffered at Magnesia a decisive defeat, to purchase peace at the price of Lesser Asia as far as Mount Taurus, and by surrendering half his ships.

Yet the Romans preferred bestowing kingdoms, to the possession of them, and they were contented to be simply conquerors. After having humbled in Galatia the hereditary ferocity of those Gauls who a century before had terrified Macedonia, they gave a great part of Lesser Asia to their ally the King of Pergamus.

SECTION XIV.

THE FATE OF HANNIBAL AND SCIPIO.

Generous as the senate was towards the humbled confederacies of hostile states, it was equally watchful of all the movements of Hannibal, who wandered over the world seeking to stir up enemies against the name of Rome. He was at the court of Prusias, the base, avaricious, timid king of Bithynia, when his surrender was demanded by the Romans. He then took poison, which he had for many years concealed, that he might never suffer a fate unworthy of Hannibal. Such was the reward which he received from Fortune for having broken through the Alps, for having gained the fields of Ticinus, of Trebiæ, of the Thrasymene lake, and of Cannæ; but in the hour of death he was consoled by foreseeing the calamities of Rome hastened by a short career of conquest, and by reflecting that his own name would be handed down to eternal memory, among those illustrious captains who should

fight valiantly, with the forces of a debased and falling state, against an enemy flushed with victory and in the full energy of youth.

About the same time his victorious rival gave way to the malignity of faction. Scipio abandoned Rome which he had saved; lived at his country-house near Linternum in that personal dignity which envy could not take away from him; he died there; and a belief remained among the inhabitants of the place, that after the gods whom he revered had taken his great soul into their own society, a serpent lay concealed among the myrtles, in whose shade he had reposed, and guarded the approach to his sacred ashes.

SECTION XV.

CONQUEST OF MACEDONIA.

The Romans forgave the Ætolians; they conquered the islands in the Adriatic Sea, and reduced the rebellious Istria to a more complete subjection. In the mean time, Philip had sacrificed the worthiest of his sons to the insidious calumnies of Perseus, in consequence of whose base artifices he died of grief in forlorn old age. B. C. 178. The same Perseus, in order to gain the affections of the Macedonians, after pursuing for a long time a system of measures, which were not devoid of policy, excited a war against his hereditary enemies, in which he flattered himself, not without some appearance of success until the Romans began to enter seriously into the conflict, to restore the ancient celebrity of the Macedonian arms. But Paulus Æmilius, the general of the republic, overcame the apparently invincible obstacles which forests and mountains opposed to his progress. A sudden panic seized the king, who abandoned his kingdom in the critical moment; he knew not how to die, but delivered himself a captive. Macedonia was declared a free country under the protection of Rome (B. C. 166.), and in the 155th year after the death of Alexander the Great, the last successor of his throne was led to Rome, following the triumph of the

conqueror, where he died in most abject degradation. The riches of Epirus rewarded the Roman army for the rigid discipline they had been obliged to observe in Macedonia.

SECTION XVI.

THE THIRD PUNIC WAR.

About this time factions which broke out in Carthage prepared the destruction of that republic. Forty exiled senators implored the aid of king Massinissa to effect their restoration. This chief was ninety-six years old, father of forty-four sons, king of many wandering tribes of warlike people, the author of rich and extensive culture amid deserts which seemed destined to perpetual sterility, the able and constant ally of Rome. The Carthaginians rejected his interference, the ruling faction fearing for themselves. When the affair was referred to the Romans, the senate decreed according to the wishes of Massinissa, and the Carthaginians would not submit, for their demagogues had every thing to fear, and had resolved to bury themselves under the ruins of the republic.

At this time, M. Porcius Cato, an old man, swayed the decision of the senate. Born at Tusculum in the vicinity of Rome, he was bred up in the country, till at the age of seventeen he entered the military service. As military tribune, quæstor, ædile, prætor of Sardinia, twice consul, and proconsul in Spain, he had maintained so upright a character that he was able to baffle forty-four accusations brought against him by envious persons before the people. In the censorate or investigation of public and private morals, he was chiefly celebrated for his firmness; he was by far the most learned man in the law and history of his country, one of the most eloquent orators of his age, and an excellent private citizen. With the severity of ancient virtue, Cato combined as many accomplishments as were suitable to the dignity of a Roman Senator. But although he had in many other matters a penetrating and upright judgment, he was in one particular like other old men with

whom the earliest impressions of youth remain the most vivid through life. Cato after the lapse of seventy years contemplated in Hannibal, that warrior who threatened Rome with his arms; whenever he spoke in the senate, though concerning far different matters, he always introduced this sentence: "It is my judgment that Carthage must be destroyed."

Widely different was the opinion of the Scipios. He who at that time imparted new splendor to this great name was a son of Paulus Æmilius, whom a son of the conqueror of Zama had adopted in his old age. He joined to the spotless virtue of his own father the amiable character of the elder Scipio, and to the heroic spirit that shone forth in both of them a more extended knowledge and greater refinement than could be attained in earlier times. Scipio Nasica possessed great weight in the senate through his wisdom and rectitude.

The Scipios opposed themselves to the proposal of destroying the only city which, by the remembrance of former dangers, might restrain the Romans from yielding to the sway of their passions. It was to be foreseen that the energy of Rome would decline when no object existed that could excite her apprehension. The sentiment of justice and humanity might also plead in favor of the unhappy Carthaginians. The younger Scipio had a noble character; his life might seem to justify the common report "that he had never said or done any thing that was not deserving of praise." He was the intimate friend of Lælius; he admired Polybius, who resided at his house; and we are partly indebted to him for those master-pieces of comedy by which Terence rivalled the fame of the Attic theatre. Scipio was the friend of the author, and assisted him in his composition.

In the senate, as it often happens in such bodies, the honest manner of Cato, whom every one understood, and who coincided with the various passions of his hearers, produced a greater impression than what Scipio Nasica, or the younger Scipio, said with more profound reflection; and it was resolved to proceed to the last extremities.

Accordingly, the surrender of all the ships which the Carthaginians had built contrary to the stipulations of the

last treaty, was demanded under the pretext that their armament violated the peace existing between the two countries. They gave them up, and the ships were burnt before their eyes. Hereupon they were commanded in a body to leave their paternal city, and build a new town in the interior of Africa, far from the sea-coast. When the assembly of the people heard this order, they were struck with the utmost despair; every man voted for war, and the senate swore to perish with Carthage. One of the Suffetes gave his opinion that they ought to yield to destiny, and he was stoned to death in the midst of the assembly. All the wood that could be collected was now brought to the docks for the building of a new fleet; they spared neither the houses of the lower town, nor any wooden implement: all the gold and silver, all the metal belonging to the great, the ornaments of the tombs of the magistrates and warriors, and the sacred vessels, the treasures of the temples, the ploughs, reaping hooks, and all the tools of handicraft that could be dispensed with, were melted down and made into arms. The women cut off their hair to weave ropes and cordage for the ships; every person without distinction of rank, age, or sex, expended all his substance for the great and venerable Carthage. Wonderfully did the Carthaginians resist even in the third year. Two walls were stormed, and a third still held out. When the haven was lost they dug another, and suddenly a new fleet made its appearance and obtained a victory; the legions were more than once defeated. King Massinissa in the mean time died, and Scipio divided his kingdom between his sons, Micipsa, Gulussa, and Manastabal.

Scipio alone found resources against the inventions of despair. At Rome he had filled the office of ædile or inspector of architecture, and was chosen consul before he had attained the age appointed by law. He came to Africa, and in the third year of this lamentable war he penetrated by a mighty stratagem into the last haven. Even after this irreparable loss the citizens would not surrender, but fought six days and six nights on the shore, and in the upper streets for the now unfortified city. B. C. 145. At length a party declared for the Romans, and at the same instant

the town was set on fire by the hands, as it appears, of its own citizens, that the seat of the ancient republic and of so lasting an empire might not become a subject town under the dominion of Rome. Hasdrubal a chief citizen went over to the enemy; his wife saw him, and embracing her children, exclaimed, "Live Hasdrubal, if thou canst dare to survive Carthage!" and she threw herself with her two infants among the flames of her burning palace. Many persons killed themselves on the graves of their forefathers, the monuments of the heroes, and in the citadel among the temples of the gods. Seventeen days the flames devoured this city, the habitation of 700,000 people, which had flourished and domineered a thousand years, and at length reduced it to a heap of smouldering ruins.*

SECTION XVII.

THE ACHÆAN WAR.

After the conquest of Macedonia the Greeks perceived how much more formidable to their independence the Roman republic was than the king whom they had labored to dethrone. The Romans, after quelling an attempt made by Andriscus for the restoration of the Macedonian kingdom, soon sought to acquire secure possession of all the strong places in Greece, and they demanded of the Achæan confederacy all the fortresses which the king had formerly possessed in the Peloponnesus. The embassy by which this proposal was sent was treated with insult by the populace of Corinth, and this aggression seemed to afford sufficient pretence for declaring war.

Achaia fought in vain with the heroic spirit of ancient Greece; every thing yielded to the two powerful and well commanded legions. Critolaus the chief of the confederacy could only avoid a shameful submission by voluntary death.

* It is a late conjecture that the city of Tombuctoo, discovered in our time in the midst of Africa, may have been founded by Carthaginians, who escaped from the conflagration of their city.

Yet his successor Diæus dared, like another Leonidas, to defend with 614 valiant men, the Corinthian isthmus. All things were carried away by the stream of fortune. Diæus retired into his country, assembled his family, distributed poison to his wife and children, took his share of it himself, and perished together with them. Lucius Mummius conquered Corinth, adorned with the innumerable splendid works which the luxury and arts of the finest ages of Greece had produced. In the 955th year after the building of this city, in the same year as Carthage, Corinth was plundered and burnt, all the adult males were massacred, and the women and children sold into slavery; many excellent productions of the fine arts were destroyed. The Bœotian Thebes, and Chalcis, the great capital of Eubœa, the mother of so many colonies, were also committed to the flames. The glorious days of ancient Greece terminated, and were destined never again to re-appear in their former splendor.

SECTION XVIII.

THE WARS IN SPAIN.

After Carthage and Corinth had fallen, the Lusitanian Spaniard Viriatus, a great warrior, gave occupation to the arms of Rome, during eight years, and in the same country a fortress, which was defended by only 4000 men, detained several Roman generals, fourteen years before its walls. Numantia forced the legions to submit to the same ignominious capitulation to which they had been reduced in the war of the Samnites. Viriatus was only subdued by treachery. Even Scipio was unable to make himself master of Numantia; but when hunger had reduced its inhabitants to despair, and Scipio avoided to give them battle, they set fire to the place, and destroyed themselves in the flames. B. C. 132. A few individuals, in an indescribable state of misery, followed the triumphal car of the conqueror.

In many districts the Spaniards maintained their freedom during another century; they formed few confederacies in war, and therefore every tribe was in the end subdued;

but this happened only in succession, and each nation in its turn renewed the labor of the conquerors; each tribe fought for its independence and its territory, against oppressors whom their own corruption rendered every day more tyrannical. The inventive genius of the Spaniards displayed abler commanders than we find among more celebrated nations, who are not by nature so prone to reflection.

SECTION XIX.

THE GRACCHI.

While the Romans with so much labor obtained possession of barbarous Spain, Asia Minor fell easily into their power. The last Attalus king of Pergamus, dying without heirs, gave by will to Rome his own kingdom and the dominion which had been conferred upon one of his predecessors by the generosity of the senate. Aristonicus in vain opposed himself to the transfer; but no enemy of Rome could have bestowed upon her a more destructive gift; for from that time forwards the ancient probity of the republic contended in vain with the luxury and riches of Asia. B. C. 131.

It was immediately proposed by Tiberius Gracchus, nephew of Scipio by his sister, the tribune of the people, to divide the treasure of Attalus, and to provide a new law which might prevent any citizen from possessing more than a certain estate in land. The father of the tribune was a man of primitive virtue, and Tiberius himself possessed all those qualities which would have rendered him a powerful citizen, without transgressing the laws; the regulation proposed by him was popular, and equally just, in the estimation of the multitude, who applauded it. The old limitations with respect to the possession of land had become by long custom obsolete, and the new law pressed heavily on a class of the citizens, inconsiderable by their number, and taught the poor that it was in their power to obtain every thing, and the rich that nothing but force could protect them from aggression. The treasures of Attalus were no superfluous

addition to the public fund, which in former times had been maintained by contributions, and from the triumph of Paulus Æmilius had drawn no revenues. The charge of maintaining a great empire was thus defrayed without oppressing the provinces.

For the first time, a question of political rights was decided at Rome by force. Tiberius Gracchus gave occasion to this disturbance, by expelling from the tribunate one of his colleagues who was more moderately inclined than himself. He then proposed a law to confer on all the Italians the rights of Roman citizens. The senate was justly afraid of being reduced by such a multitude to submit to the most degrading concessions. Accordingly Scipio Nasica, a man revered for the most exalted virtues, compelled by the imperious necessity of affairs, took his post on the steps which led to the Capitol, and summoned to his assistance all those who chose to defend their country. The senate and all the great citizens, together with most of the Roman knights, and a considerable part of the people, repairing to his aid, that tumult arose in which Tiberius lost his life.

B. C. 122. His brother Caius, more eloquent, and possessed of greater abilities, after the lapse of ten years, attempted a similar enterprise. He proposed that, "according to the old Licinian law, no Roman citizen should possess more than 500 acres of land; that all Cisalpine Gaul should be included in Italy, and should partake of the same privileges; that corn should be sold to the people at an extremely low price; that 600 knights should be enrolled in the senate, and that the judicial office should be taken from that body and transferred to the equestrian order." The whole balance of power which kept the constitution together was thus broken, and when labor ceased to be necessary, the morals of the people could not fail to become corrupted. A man who possessed so much intelligence as this tribune, could by these measures pursue no other than his personal interests and passions.

He seemed to have insured success by the manner in which he had contrived to interest the knights, the people, and all Italy in the cause. The consul Opimius, who was the personal enemy of the tribune, set a price upon his

head; Latium, the knights, and the cities in alliance with Rome, declared for the old constitution, which could not be overturned without the greatest convulsions. Caius, in despair, caused himself to be slain by one of his domestics; 200 men were killed in a tumult on the Aventine hill within the city; and when quiet was restored, the accomplices were summoned to answer for their conduct, and 3000 men were put to death.

From that time the good old customs and regulations gradually fell into disuse. The people would no longer obey; all things were obtained by gold: no crime, no disorder in war seemed disgraceful, if profit was connected with it. Agriculture and the useful arts fell into decay under the oppression of the prefects. Those who were poor and without patrons had more to fear from the courts of justice than opulent criminals, and assassinations and deaths by poison became common. The noble Scipio, the hero of the third Punic war, was murdered by some of his relations, who feared lest he should be raised to the dictatorship, and should avenge his country, which he preferred to all other connections. His enemy Metellus sent his children to the funeral of Scipio, with these true words: "Go, behold him; you will never again see such a Roman." The power of iniquity was so formidable, that the senate did not venture to institute any inquiry concerning his death; but from that time it became customary with the citizens to wear daggers under their robes. Rome, the mistress of the world, intoxicated with the blood of nations, became delirious in her excesses.

SECTION XX.

THE CIMBRIC WAR.

B. C. 113. A few years after the death of Caius Gracchus, hordes of barbarians appeared on the borders of Italy, under the name of Cimbri, whose origin is not very well known, but who probably were of Gallo-Belgic race. At this time the only declared enemy of Rome was Jugurtha, an African prince, whose inconsiderable power was soon

subdued when he had once become an object of serious attention. Most of the Alpine passes, and all the most accessible of them, were in the possession of the Romans; a Roman province extended through Gaul to the farthest foot of the Pyrenees; and the Allobroges in Dauphiné and Savoy, and the Arverni in Auvergne, had submitted to the yoke. In the midst of this external prosperity, the north, for the first time, poured forth her unknown swarms. The Cimbri, the Teutones, the Ambrones, and the Tigurini, the latter of whom were the chief people of Helvetia, after laying waste the banks of the Danube and all Gaul, overcame the consul Carbo, and soon after, Silanus and Scaurus; they defeated Cassius, on the lake of Geneva, with disgrace and dreadful slaughter; and Cæpio and Manlius with still greater loss. Italy trembled before Teutobochus and Boioric, as it had formerly trembled before Hannibal. The Cimbri were of gigantic stature, and their harsh barbarous voices inspired terror; their host advanced in close and firm array; it appeared impenetrable, and was found to be irresistible.

In this calamitous emergency no candidate appeared for the consulship, and the senate was obliged to offer it to Caius Marius, the conqueror of Jugurtha, a rustic of Arpinum, who was hated by the nobles, and who had more of the severity than of the dignity of the old consuls. Marius, however, was as rigid in discipline as any of his predecessors, and as eminent in the art of war. He would have been a great man, if he had known how to restrain himself as strenuously as he coerced his troops.

Marius marched to attack the Teutones who were entering Italy from the Gallic province, and sent Catulus his colleague against the Cimbri, who were rushing down like torrents from the Rhætian Alps. Before Marius engaged with his foe, he accustomed his troops to the ferocious aspect of the barbarians, and restored the discipline of his army, which gives to the soldier a feeling of confidence in himself. He rendered the enemy more negligent by delay, and by the same means inflamed his own army to extreme impatience. At length he made the attack, and near Aquæ Sextiæ, now Aix in Provence, he exterminated the Teutonic host.

After Marius had completed this work, he passed into the plains of Verona, where Catulus found himself unable to withstand the terrific hordes whom the snow-clad mountains and impetuous torrents of the Alps had not arrested in their course. Marius himself fell into great danger of being cut off and out-flanked by his far more powerful enemy, who had caused one troop to fly in order that the Romans in the pursuit might fall into confusion. He knew, however, how to infuse into his army new courage for a decisive attack, which turned out the more fortunately as the enemy held a position, in which the beams of the sun, breaking forth from clouds, shone with dazzling splendor on his face. Both armies fought with excessive fury; and when the battle was decisively lost by the barbarians, they made a desperate resistance around the wagons which contained their wives and children. This day was the last of the Cimbric war. Those who were not killed or sold as slaves made their escape into the valleys of the Alps, in order to lurk there in concealment, or thence to join their brethren whom they had left behind them in the north.

The movement which the enterprise of the Cimbri had excited in the north terminated not here. From the Rhine and Helvetia to the Black Sea, violent fluctuations are long to be observed. The Roman borders were also molested by the Scordisci, Bastarnæ, and other barbarous races.

These wanderings are said to have been the consequence of inundations and famines; but it is not known in what age we ought to place these phænomena of nature. The remembrance of such events remains among barbarous nations, but traditions often connect them with historical facts which have happened many centuries later.

SECTION XXI.

MITHRIDATES.

Soon after this event the Pontic king Mithridates, equal in military talents to the greatest generals of antiquity, developed a plan in which he reckoned much on the assistance

of the northern nations. This chieftain formed the design of uniting all the hordes which were dispersed between the Don and the Alps in one great confederacy, to give a certain effect to their valor by military discipline, and to overrun Italy at their head. As far as Mithridates was known, the admiration of his great genius extended itself. His troops were accustomed to endure want, and all the inclemencies of the seasons.

B. C. 87. Having acquired a strong party in Asia Minor, he began his warfare in earnest by murdering about 80,000 Romans who dwelt in the cities of that country, against whom the conspired rebellion broke out everywhere at the same time. Greece fell into his power, and Rome had once more to contend, during five-and-twenty years, for the empire of the world.

SECTION XXII.

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN THE CITY; WAR IN ITALY.

In Rome itself the arts of demagogues prevailed, and Marius by such means deprived Metellus of the command in the war against Jugurtha, when it was almost brought to a completion, and caused it to be conferred upon himself. Accordingly he formed the strictest bonds of friendship with the tribune of the people, Saturninus, who had assassinated a competitor on the day of election. Metellus, respectable for all the qualities of a great citizen and general, narrowly escaped being murdered by him: he forgave the attempt, that he might not disturb the public tranquillity, and abandoned Rome. His noble conduct remained not without the impression which it was calculated to produce, and the people brought him back in triumph.

In this posture of affairs the patricians sought their safety in the consulate of Memmius, who, on the day of election, was murdered by a tribune of the people. In the common terror Marius embraced the just cause, because it now appeared the most popular. A contest took place in the forum; the tribune was forced to surrender himself; he was

dragged forth by Roman knights and plebeians, and beaten to death by clubs and stones.

The situation of the provinces was not more tranquil. The Roman knights, formerly a military order, had become judges since the time of Caius Gracchus: 3900 of them, classed in four decuries, exercised this authority. There was now no refuge for the oppressed provinces, of which the knights held the imposts by public contracts, and augmented with insatiable avarice; honor, life, and property depended on the judgment of those who themselves, as exactors, had given cause for the most vehement complaints.

At the same time a private enmity between Cæpio and Drusus occasioned a breach between the senate and the knights, in which the latter took so warm a part in favor of Cæpio, that Drusus meditated, by this opportunity, to deprive them of the authority which they had so unfitly acquired. Drusus was of noble family, and his distinguished talents were exalted by a rare purity of manners and clearness of intellect. In order to gain over the people in favor of the old constitution which he designed to restore, it was necessary for him to show himself friendly to their interests; he therefore proposed a law for the establishment of some colonies and for a division of lands. The senate, in whose cause he intended to embark, understood not his intentions, and opposed his designs with all their influence. When the heroic Drusus saw those on whom he intended again to bestow the judicial power united against him, with that party whom he designed to deprive of their abused privileges, he was struck with despair. He sought in this emergency to interest all Italy in his favor, by promising to the whole nation the rights of Roman citizens. Hereupon he proposed a law for the division of lands, another respecting the price of corn, and a third by which the judicial power was shared between the senatorial and equestrian ranks. As he was returning to his house, accompanied by an innumerable multitude, he was struck with a dagger by an unknown person, who was never called to account for his crime. As he expired, Drusus exclaimed, "I foresee

that a citizen will not soon appear with intentions so pure as mine."

All Italy resorted to Rome to demand the right of citizenship, and all were repulsed. The people of Ascalum put to death the prætor Servilius, with all the Romans who happened to be in their city. All the Picentine country, the Sabine valleys, the Tuscan cities, Umbria, the whole Adriatic coast, Samnium, Campania, and Calabria, took up arms against that city which was chiefly indebted to them for her empire; for in all her wars they had contributed a double contingent. Corfinium was declared the capital, and the consuls were besieged in Albalonga. Never was a war so furious, so bloody, so treacherously conducted. The Romans having gained the victory in the territory of Picenum, the Italian general assembled his officers, ate with them, and afterwards killed himself in their presence. Four thousand men assembled on the top of a mountain, and preferred to perish by cold rather than surrender themselves. The army of an ex-consul, offended by his arrogance, slew him; and rushed, in order to atone for his death, with such fury against the enemy, that eighteen thousand were killed in one day. Many who had held high offices, or military commands, were scourged and beheaded, and nearly three hundred thousand men fell in various conflicts.

Rome was in this state when information was received that eighty thousand citizens had been massacred in Asia Minor; that the Pontic king was in Thrace. It was known soon after that he was in Athens; and that he was exciting movements among all the people of the North.

SECTION XXIII.

MARIUS AND SYLLA.

Lucius Cornelius Sylla, sprung from an ancient but little distinguished family, had obtained reputation in the Jugurthine and Cimbric wars; he had lately gained a victory over the Italians, and lay with his army before Nola

in Campania, which was one of their cities. This general was appointed to conduct the war against Mithridates. But the insatiable ambition of Marius, now seventy years old, incited him to attempt, by means of Sulpicius, the tribune of the people, who was otherwise an excellent man, but on this occasion suffered himself to be misled, to obtain a decree for reversing the nomination of Sylla, and appointing himself to the command. A son-in-law of Sylla lost his life on this occasion.

On receiving this intelligence, Sylla broke up his camp before Nola, and now, for the first time, the army of a citizen marched towards Rome in hostile array. In cold blood he provided torches for the burning of the city. At the head of 26,000 men, to whom his will was the only law, he entered by the Colline and Esquiline gates, and marched through the streets leading to the capitol. In vain the senate, in vain the knights were summoned by his rival; it was with difficulty that Marius himself was saved by the assistance of a slave. Hereupon Sylla demanded that the old consul, his son, and ten of his dependants, should be declared enemies of their country; and to this end he surrounded the deliberating senate with armed troops. In that assembly Scævola, the inflexible champion of justice, turned towards the imperious Sylla, and said, "Never shall the instruments of tyranny induce old Mucius Scævola, who has only a few drops of blood yet left, to declare him an enemy of the Romans, who has protected Rome and all Italy from the Cimbri." Terror influenced the votes of the rest of the senate. A price was set upon the head of the tribune Sulpicius, and one of his slaves killed him, obtained the reward, and was instantly thrown from the Tarpeian rock as a traitor to his master. The conqueror of the Cimbri sought a lurking place in the morasses of Minturnæ, but the mud and reeds were not sufficient to conceal him. He was confined in a dungeon at Minturnæ, and an armed slave was ordered to dispatch him. When the latter, who was a Cimbrian captive, entered, the old general exclaimed, with that voice before which the legions and the barbarians had trembled, "Who art thou, who art not afraid to raise thy hand against Caius Marius?" The sword fell out of the

hand of the Cimbrian; and Marius escaped to Africa, whence, for the first time, he had returned to Rome in triumph.

After Sylla had entered upon the Mithridatic war, Rome was thrown into convulsions by the consul Lucius Cornelius Cinna. Octavius, his colleague, drove him out; but Cinna collected an army, and threatened the senate. About the same time eight new tribes had been enrolled, composed of the citizens of such towns as had deserted the Italian league, and thereby obtained the freedom of Rome. Cinna promised then to divide them among the older tribes, in such a manner that the ancient families might possess no distinction over the new citizens. By means of this stratagem he found himself at the head of an immense army.

In order to render his legions more formidable by military discipline, and the terror of a great name, Cinna recalled Marius. Compassion, indignation, hope, and fear, armed Italy in favor of the hoary general, who, by nature cruel, and from his youth an enemy to the aristocracy, and now animated by revenge, put forth all the powers of his warlike genius, for which he had been celebrated for half a century, and to which alone he was indebted for two triumphs and six consulates. A battle was fought near Rome against the elder Pompey, who at length, though too late, had declared himself against the party of Cinna. Seventeen thousand men fell by the sword and pestilence. A soldier in Pompey's army distinguished, among those whom he had slain, the body of his brother; he erected his funeral pile, placed the corpse upon it, called down the vengeance of the gods upon Pompey, execrated the war, the factions, and the fate of Rome, and slew himself upon the flaming pyre. Soon afterwards Pompey was struck dead by lightning.

Marius, who since he set foot in Italy had marked every step with blood, entered the city with Cinna, Carbo, and Sertorius. The consul Octavius still defended the Vatican hill with a few troops, on whom the senate placed their last reliance. His head was soon carried through the city on the point of a spear. Then Marius gave the order for murdering all the great senators. Most of them suffered their doom in their own houses; many were betrayed by

their clients; many dragged to the forum, where a heap of bodies was accumulated. The high-priest of Jupiter was slain upon the altar of his god; Catulus, the wise and virtuous consul, who had shared with Marius the fame of the Cimbrian victory, was forced to strangle himself. The head of Antonius, the greatest orator of the age, was brought to Marius while he was at supper; he grasped it with exultation, and embraced the assassin yet reeking in blood. This was his last moment of joy; Marius died soon afterwards. B. C. 85. Many thousand slaves, whom he had armed against the citizens, and who were discontented for want of their pay, were collected by Cinna at the forum, as if to receive their stipend, and there surrounded and put to death.

Sylla seemed to forget every other object in order to avenge Rome on the king of Pontus. He conquered Athens after a siege, in which the citizens, under the pressure of hunger, had not even abstained from human flesh; he forgave the Athenians for the sake of their ancestors. In the decisive conflict, which took place in Bœotia, the valor and skill of the generals of Mithridates, forced the Romans to give way; at that instant Sylla threw himself among the enemy, and cried out to his army, "Soldiers! when you are asked where you have left your leader, answer, in the field of battle!" This rebuke roused them to a sense of their duty, and gave them the victory. Never were all the resources of war displayed by greater commanders in a long-continued contest: Sylla had not only to fight against the powers of invention, which seemed in Mithridates inexhaustible; but the chiefs of the Marian faction, at the same time, excited commotions throughout Asia: at length he succeeded in forcing Fimbria, their leader, to destroy himself, and in reducing the king to conclude a treaty, by which Cappadocia, Bithynia, and all Lesser Asia, which countries Mithridates already considered as his own, together with a part of his fleet, and a great sum in gold, were surrendered to the Romans.

Sylla now returned to Italy with as much composure as if he came in profound peace, to demand a triumph, the fruit of his victories. From Apulia, where he landed, he

marched up the country in the best order, and preserving the strictest discipline. The consular men who had fled from the city, met him, and Sylla seemed to wish for nothing else than to reinstate the senate in its constitutional rights. Cinna, who had conducted the measures of the opposite party with a courage worthy of a better cause, was killed in a tumult among the soldiery. Sylla, on descending from the hill which lies above Capua, gained a victory over the consul Norbanus; and the army which Lucius Scipio conducted against him deserted to him. The young Cneius Pompey brought to his aid from Picenum, the numerous clients of his father. In the mean time an officer of Sylla's party gained possession of the island of Sardinia, and the Marian prætor of Africa, an arrogant and avaricious man, was burnt in a military tumult, together with his house.

Under these circumstances, the prætor Damasippus, by the command of the young Marius, summoned the senate at Rome, and made proposals for a treaty of peace. All the respectable citizens yet living in Rome; all who preferred peace, at any rate, to a bloody revenge, assembled themselves in the Hostiline senate-house. This instant was chosen by the Marian faction for filling up the measure of their iniquities, and they massacred the whole assembly. Scævola, the supreme pontiff, fell before the sacred fire of Vesta.

A few days afterwards, Sylla, at the gates of Rome, gained a victory over Pontius Telesinus, a Samnite of the Marian party. The day of his entry was a signal for the death of all the adherents of the faction of Marius; of all those who had borne envy or open enmity against Sylla himself, or any of his friends or soldiers. In order to set bounds to vengeance, tables of proscription were published, in which the massacre, at first of eighty, and afterwards of five hundred distinguished men, was decreed, their whole property bestowed on those who put them to death, and their children excluded for life from holding any civil employment. When assassination became a profitable profession, riches, in many instances, stood in place of crimes. Eight thousand men, who had surrendered to the conquer-

ors, were massacred together; the cries of rage, and the shrieks of the unfortunate were so loud, that the senate assembled in the neighboring curia, were unable to proceed in their consultations. Sylla coolly observed, "There are some wretches who are undergoing the chastisement of their crimes;" the younger Catulus replied, "We slay armed men in war, and the unarmed in peace! with whom, then, shall we in future live?"

The consul Marius, who was 26 years of age, made a long resistance at Præneste, worthy of the military fame of his father. Meanwhile Sylla commanded his brother, the prætor, to be dragged to the tomb of the elder Catulus; here his tongue, his ears, and his eyes were torn out, and one limb after another was beaten to pieces by clubs; and M. Pletorius was put to death because he had fainted at the spectacle. When the head of the prætor was thrown over the walls of Præneste, the young consul and his friend, the son of Telesinus, slew each other. When the city surrendered all the people were massacred.

Meanwhile the consul Cneius Carbo fell, together with a great number of his partisans in Sicily, by the arms of young Pompey. In Rhodes, the consul Norbanus, who had fled thither for refuge, was forced to destroy himself. The prætor Ofella, one of the most zealous partisans of Sylla, the conqueror of Præneste, having presumed to demand the consulate without the permission of his chief, was assassinated in the forum: and when the people seemed to be enraged at the act, Sylla appeared, and declared, "I have ordered it." Husbands, against whom their own wives had shut their doors because they were proscribed, were seen killing themselves before their houses; sons murdered their fathers. Many persons concealed themselves in tombs and in secluded valleys.

Thirty-three men who had been consuls, seven prætors, sixteen ædiles, two hundred senators, one hundred and fifty thousand Roman citizens, fell a sacrifice to the wars carried on between Marius and Sylla. Sylla afterwards revived the dictature, which had not existed for one hundred and twenty years; he took the surname of "the Fortunate;" he distributed among the soldiers of his forty-seven

legions the property of the proscribed and murdered; he abolished the right which the tribunes of the people exercised of proposing laws; he filled up the diminished numbers of the senate out of the equestrian rank; he increased the colleges of pontiffs and augurs, in order to reward his troops; and gave to the people, in remembrance of his victory, the celebrated Circensian games, in the enjoyment of which they afterwards forgot their lost freedom.

After perpetrating acts on which few tyrants would have ventured in order to bequeath a throne to a long posterity, Sylla laid down the dictature, retired into private life, and employed himself in writing his history: he passed the remainder of his days in the midst of all intellectual and personal enjoyments, and died in the infirmity of age, on the second day after completing the twenty-second book of his memoirs. B. C. 77.

SECTION XXIV.

THE AGE OF POMPEY.

The effects of these convulsions were perceptible in the provinces for many years. Sertorius, a Marian chief, carried on in Spain an eighteen years' war, which became remarkable for the knowledge of human nature, and the skill in choosing military positions, displayed by the general. Sertorius had known how to engage even the barbarians so strongly on his side, that Calagurri was not taken by the enemy till its inhabitants had consumed their wives and children. Just as he was about to make common cause with Mithridates against his country, he was betrayed by Perperna, whom he had spared when he put to death all other suspected persons. This crime cost the perpetrator of it his life.

Lucullus was sent into Asia against Mithridates. This general was a Roman citizen, who had formed himself in the studies and arts of peace, and who had lived for many years secluded from all share in military affairs; he studied the principles of war, in the course of his journey to Asia, in

books and conversation; and his actions prove, that with a head accustomed to reflection, even this method will succeed.

In Italy the consuls were defeated by troops of gladiators, who had run away from their owners; and Licinius Crassus, who conquered their leaders, Crixus and Spartanes, gained a victory, ignominious on account of its objects, but important for the public tranquillity.

The early glory of Pompey was the object of universal admiration; while young Cæsar yet strove, without being able to raise himself into the sphere of his ambition. Cato now began to be known by the marks of that hatred for tyrants which he displayed while yet a youth.

Victories in Gaul, Illyrium, Spain, and the bequest of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, enlarged the empire; Rome, sinking in voluptuousness, forgot the atrocities which she had witnessed, and prepared for her degradation. Already the laws were silenced by the inordinate influence of the powerful men; the growing disbelief of religion destroyed those boundless hopes in which the more elevated sentiment of antiquity found strength against the low impulses of vulgar passions; honors, dignities, friendships were venal; and corrupt citizens justified every crime which was called for by the ever increasing necessities of an insatiable luxury.

About this time Pompey sought the favor of the people by reinstating the tribunate in the rights of which it had been deprived by Sylla; thus laboring for those who afterwards suffered themselves to be seduced to his destruction. His destiny had decreed that, as hereafter in his fall, so now in his elevation, all forms and limitations should be broken through. He had triumphed before he had borne any public office; had gained the consulate without passing, according to the usual routine, through the quæstorship; and an extraordinary power was now decreed to him over the Mediterranean Sea and all its coasts, for the extirpation of a horde of pirates. Yet was Pompey so greedy of distinction, that he snatched to himself the laurels of others with insatiable vanity. He had assumed the reputation of putting an end to the Sertonian war, of which all the essential

measures had been conducted by his predecessor; and he now exerted himself to deprive Metellus of the fame arising from the conquest of Crete.

His ambition further displayed itself in the share he took in the Mithridatic war. The great king of Pontus maintained his cause with his barbarian troops as long as it was possible, against the legions skilfully commanded by Lucullus. When no resource but his own genius remained to him against the power and military talents of the Romans, Mithridates was forced at length to give way. At this conjuncture Pompey deprived Lucullus of the honor of terminating a war, which the latter had perhaps prolonged through avarice.

Mithridates fell in a manner worthy of his name. After he had brought into array against Rome the kingdom inherited from a long line of ancestors, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, the warlike swarms of Thrace, all that remained of Grecian valor, Colchis and the mountain tribes of Iberia and Albania; all Caucasus and the dwellers on the Caspian Sea, and on the mountains of Taurus, both Armenias, Mesopotamia, and Syria; after he had held all his hordes together in often renewed wars during twenty-five years, and with the same resources had withstood the fortune of Sylla, the zealous efforts of many consuls, even the wise tactics of Lucullus, and, as long as it was possible, the rapidity of Pompey's arms; he fell at last by no fault of his own, by no neglect or intermission of long continued vigilance: the treachery of his own son finally ruined him, and the Romans obtained no other trophy from him than his corpse. On the ruins of the independence of Asia, Mithridates slew himself, and it was only thus that Rome could obtain peace.

Through the remainder of his career, Pompey had only to take possession of conquests; from the Scythian plains to the walls of Jerusalem, he collected fruits from the labors of others. Tigranes, king of Armenia, during the violent commotions which agitated the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, had seated himself on their throne. B. C. 64. Pompey gave Syria, Cilicia, and Phœnicia to Rome, and left Armenia to Tigranes; he would have done more wisely if

he had granted to the latter the luxurious Antioch. Syria could not have become formidable, and Rome stood in need of Armenia as a bulwark for Lesser Asia against the Parthians. Jerusalem, weakened by the internal strife of the Maccabee princes, became an easy conquest. B. C. 62. The law of Moses remained to the Jews, but more and more the sceptre departed from Judah.

While the Parthian Phraates began to tremble at the progress of the legions, Rome herself was indebted for her existence to the vigilance of one good citizen. Catiline, of the noble house of the Sergii, living in the closest intimacy with all the young men who were corrupted by pleasure and ruined by extravagance, adorned by all the splendid qualities which can be combined with want of good principles, entered into a conspiracy against the subsisting constitution. Rome fell into that peril which menaces every state where there exists no well regulated power to restrain the audacity of men who have nothing to lose and are destitute of conscience. Sallust, the severe censurer of vices which he himself was unable to conquer, relates in his admirable work how Cicero the consul discovered the plot; how he directed against it the thunders of his eloquence, and frustrated its purpose; and how Catiline, with arms in his hands, fell with a courage worthy of a better cause.

SECTION XXV.

CÆSAR, POMPEY, AND CRASSUS; CATO AND CICERO.

Among those who incurred the suspicion of secretly favoring the enterprises of Catiline, the most powerful citizen was Caius Julius Cæsar. By continual bodily exercises, Cæsar had so strengthened his constitution, which in childhood was very weak, that it was capable of bearing all seasons and climates. In every undertaking by which he sought to raise himself to the rank of the first in Rome, and in the world, fortune favored him; because, although he indulged in every excess, he still retained a command over himself. Without speaking of his perseverance and con-

stancy, or the power and loftiness of his comprehensive genius, we cannot avoid noticing that peculiar vigor and vivacity, that promptitude quicker than lightning, which characterized him. We are now contemplating that man who, within the short space of fourteen years, subdued Gaul, thickly inhabited by warlike nations; twice conquered Spain; entered Germany and Britain; marched through Italy at the head of a victorious army; destroyed the power of Pompey the Great; reduced Egypt to obedience; saw and defeated Pharnaces the son of Mithridates; overpowered in Africa the great name of Cato and the arms of Juba; fought fifty battles in which 1,192,000 men fell; was the greatest orator in the world next to Cicero; set a pattern to all historians which has never been excelled; wrote learnedly on the sciences of grammar and augury; and falling by a premature death, left memorials of his great plans for the extension of the empire and the legislation of the world. So true is it that it is not time that is wanting to men, but the resolution to turn it to the best advantage! Cæsar had not that affected elevation of character by which men of cooler temperament pretend to be elevated above passions which they do not feel; he knew their influence and indulged them, but became not their slave. In war, no obstacles opposed themselves to him which he was not able to subdue; no stratagems which he knew not how to frustrate by some unexpected turn. His maxims of warfare were simple and decisive; he harangued his soldiers before battle on the grounds of their expectation of success. Cicero has given his orations this general testimony, "that they were like streams flowing from a pure and silvery fountain; that when Cæsar chose to adorn them, he drew pictures which could not be improved; that the character of his expression, of his voice, of his action, was noble, and the most remote from the arts of a forensic pleader." In like manner, in his history he displays every object with the most appropriate expressions; his reflections, of which he is sparing, are in his own elevated style; and here and there are scattered traits of an innocent irony. He wrote his works with rapidity, and as Quinctilian rightly judges, "in the same spirit with which he fought." He called his

soldiers "his comrades;" he praised publicly the most valiant; in dangers he reminded them of the good fortune which they had already enjoyed with him, of his love for them, of what he expected from them, of the exploits they had so often displayed in his presence, of the care and foresight with which he had now insured the event. They were in fact so devoted to him, that in any important conjuncture his lieutenant could say nothing more impressive to them than, "Soldiers, imagine that Cæsar beholds you." In the beginning of his career he had particularly gained the affection of the tenth legion; and when a great army of Germans under Ariovistus had excited some dismay, he uttered that memorable harangue, in which, after observing how unworthy of them it was to entertain any anxiety concerning the character and skill of their enemy, cares which only belonged to him, he finally declared "that if all the rest abandoned him, he alone, at the head of his tenth legion, in which he confided, would engage the enemy." The legion thanked him for having so rightly judged of their dispositions, and assured him that they should ever be devoted to his commands; the officers of the other legions could not sufficiently express their grief that Cæsar had found it possible for a moment to doubt of them; and the emulation thus excited enabled him to conquer the enemy. On another occasion, when he found his army intimidated, he availed himself of his own self-confidence; "It is true," said he, "that Juba advances against us, that he has ten legions, three hundred elephants, thirty thousand horsemen, a hundred thousand light-armed troops; but the first of you who gives himself any anxiety on that account, shall be abandoned in a wretched boat to be the sport of the waves of the sea." He quelled a sedition among his soldiers by a single word, calling them, instead of fellow warriors, "*Quirites*," citizens. This warrior, who sacrificed all things to his schemes, as soon as he had conquered was the mildest and most affable of men: it is indifferent whether he became so from the disposition of his nature, or because he had good sense enough to perceive that this conduct was the most prudent.

It appears, indeed, that he could suffer no man to be

superior to himself, but might have permitted Pompey to be equal to him; whereas, Pompey, on his part, was resolved to stand entirely alone. On the other hand, Pompey did not attempt, as Cæsar did, to retain always the same power which had once been committed to him; and if we must suppose that in victory he would have been severe like Sylla, so it would also have been consistent with his manner, to retire again into private life. That Pompey understood the art of war, he proved remarkably in all the latter period of his life; but he possessed not Cæsar's creative genius, his vigor, that animation which diffused itself among his troops, and which caused whole cohorts willingly to seek death rather than suffer any of Cæsar's friends to fall into the hands of the enemy. He spoke with the confidence of a powerful party leader, with as popular a manner as he thought becoming to him, and with a gravity worthy of the Roman majesty which never forsook him.

Crassus, who associated himself to these great men, enjoyed influence both as a man of sound judgment in affairs, and more particularly on account of the great riches he possessed, in a city where every thing was venal. When, after the war against Mithridates, Pompey, not without reason, became the object of envy, and acquired enemies, who endeavored to hinder the ratification of the measures established by him; he found himself under the necessity of seeking aid in the influence which Cæsar had acquired by his talents and Crassus by his gold. Cæsar, on his part, did not yet feel that he possessed that influence which he hoped to obtain when, by the assistance of Pompey, he should have gained the consulate and an important command. Crassus was unable to effect any thing without the aid of his coadjutors, and could do every thing with their aid.

While these men combined and agreed to make common cause in all public affairs, Cato remained for the defence of the laws. No man was ever more similar to the ideal pattern of virtue than Cato, who seemed to act uprightly because it was not in his nature to do otherwise. Notwithstanding all the trouble which his ingenious enemies gave themselves in order to degrade him, yet his name con-

tinued to be synonymous with that of virtue itself. Cato had one fault which no other man had, that he could not in any degree accommodate himself to the prevailing corruption of the times, and preferred to fail in effecting some good end, rather than not act, in every instance, in strict obedience to the severest rules of justice. With more compliance he would have been more useful to his country, but a Cato would have been wanting to the history of men.

If the father of the Latin muses, of whom Cæsar, once his enemy, so truly judged, that "his laurel was so much more honorable than the laurel of victory, in as much as it seems more noble to have extended the dominion of the human mind than the boundaries of a perishable empire;" if Cicero, after liberating Rome from Catiline, had lived like the wise Atticus in philosophical retirement, many weak traits of his splendid mind would have escaped our view. He felt not that political influence was not wanting to him, in order that his name might shine through future ages, and he flattered himself in vain that virtue and genius could insure him this influence. Amid the fearful storms of the imperial republic, amidst arms, tumults, and crimes, Marcus Tullius found himself alone with his genius, his great soul inclined to all good sentiments, and a very moderate knowledge of human nature; accordingly he adhered now to one party, then to the other, but did not long outlive the republic. According to the judgment of Augustus, who betrayed him, he was "a great man, and one who wished well to Rome!"

SECTION XXVI.

THE WAR OF CÆSAR IN GAUL.

Soon after this union of parties, and after the finest lands in Italy had been divided between 20,000 poor citizens, Cæsar obtained the province of Gaul for the period of five years, which was afterwards extended to ten; he departed from Rome, rejoicing in having at length an opportunity of engaging in war.

The humbled Arverni made no attempt to raise themselves from their state of degradation; the Sequani, who had founded their authority in Gaul on auxiliaries from Germany, were grievously oppressed by their new allies; the Hædrei, in Burgundy, were ancient but not powerful friends of Rome, who did not venture to expect her aid in wars which they had undertaken of their own accord: the strongest nation of Gaul, next to them, were the Rhemii, or the people of Rheims, for the power of the Suessiones, of Soissons, had disappeared with their former princes; the Bellovaci, in Beauvais, were a valiant people; but the Belgic race enjoyed the most distinguished reputation in arms, and had preserved their ancient manners with more purity than the other Gauls. A colony of Belgians had passed over into Britain, and may yet be recognised in the principality of Wales. On the coasts of the ocean, the Veneti, around Vannes, possessed the chief maritime power. The most invincible of the Gallic tribes inhabited the borders of the Pyrenees and the morasses of the Low Countries. The people of the latter, in their manners, resembled the Germans; a nation who, entirely unacquainted with fear, and practising only warfare, exercised a despotic authority over the Gauls, who were more civilized, and had more to lose. On the other side the Germans were held in check by the Helvetii, a people who inhabited the level parts of Switzerland. These Helvetii afforded Cæsar an opportunity of that war which he so much desired.

B. C. 57. Still full of the remembrance of the exploits of the Cimbri, the Helvetii imagined it to be an easy enterprise to conquer for themselves more convenient quarters in a fruitful country. In this expectation they formed an alliance with some neighboring German tribes, burnt their dwellings, and set out with the resolution of crossing the Jura. Such a movement as this, which might excite other German and Gallic tribes to imitate the example, could not appear to the Romans a matter of indifference for the tranquillity of their borders. Accordingly Cæsar marched with reinforcements to Geneva, and followed the Helvetii, who had penetrated through the scarcely accessible pass of the Jura. He willingly received the complaints of the Hædui

and Allobroges, and made use of this pretext to attack the Tigurini, who in the Cimbric war had defeated the Romans, and were still commanded by the same general Divico. By this exploit he appeared to avenge the former disgrace of the Roman arms. Soon afterwards a decisive battle took place, in which military skill gained a complete triumph over rude undisciplined valor. Cæsar pursued the army, now unable to make resistance, and compelled it to surrender. The Helvetii became allies of Rome, and the chief pass of the Jura was secured by a colony where the village of Nion now stands, near the lake of Geneva.

In consequence of this first victory, the authority of Cæsar became so great, that he was appealed to for relief by the oppressed nations of Gaul, while on the other hand confederacies were formed among the tribes for maintaining their independence against him and Rome. Gaul was divided among many factions, so that not only no state, but scarcely a single family was without internal dissensions. In the republics every man interfered in political affairs, and frequent popular assemblies afforded multiplied occasions for these evils. All things were done with passion; and, after consultation and decision, the conclusion formed was frequently altered. Scarcely could the priests or Druids by their influence, which appears to have had a salutary effect, restrain the people from the wildest excesses; by means of this ancient hierarchy, a degree of civilization, as far as civilization could be united with the practice of human sacrifices, was preserved among these nations. At the same time powerful individuals in Gaul had contrived to acquire a personal authority over their own and the neighboring states. The common people held a very degraded rank in society, from which the transition was easy to personal slavery, which happened at a late period.

Cæsar observed these faults in the civil constitution of Gaul, and knew how to avail himself of them for the subjugation of the country. In order to increase his influence he passed in person over the Rhine, the boundary of the bravest of the barbarous nations, and over the arm of the sea, into Britain, a country which was considered as another world, as the confines of a region only known to fable

and romance. In this island, indeed, the ancient manners were preserved with greater purity; the genuine doctrine of the Druids concerning the nature of things, the gods, and the souls of men, had here its seat; and the Britons displayed in war not only the greatest valor, but several strange customs peculiar to themselves.

Cæsar's main object, however, was the conquest of Gaul, which he looked upon justly as a boundary of the empire against the northern nations, and a sort of advanced post by means of which Rome might obtain timely information concerning all their movements. The greater number of tribes united against him, the more easy it was to defeat many in the same day, whom he must otherwise have pursued into various countries.

Every account of his victories increased the admiration of his name at Rome; his daily habits of life secured the affections of his soldiers; he possessed such a combination of the greatest and finest qualities, that his army became devoted to him alone. He excelled all the other heroes of his class; Alexander had not such obstacles to overcome, and Charles the Great was prevented, by the barbarism of his age, from becoming so enlightened.

About the same time Crassus fell in an unnecessary war in which he had engaged against the Parthians, without possessing sufficient knowledge of the country which he invaded.

B. C. 52. The nobles adhered more and more to the party of Pompey, whose manners and sentiments were congenial to their own. Cæsar and Pompey had sold Cicero, who, on the successes of his consulate, founded the hope of an independent influence, to Clodius, a tribune of the people, full of violent passions and venal to every purpose. Cicero was exiled, and Cato was removed from Rome under another pretext. He was appointed to conquer the kingdom of Cyprus for the Roman people: Ptolemæus Apion, who had possessed himself of it by a criminal enterprise, was reduced, by the injustice of Rome, to the necessity of destroying himself; while Cato only obeyed the laws. Afterwards the triumvirs assented to the recal of Cicero, who was accordingly obliged to submit in future to

their influence. Soon afterwards, Milo and Hypsæus sought the consulate by arms, in consequence of which it was given to Pompey without a colleague. This was done during his absence and by means of the senate. The manners of the Romans became more and more corrupt; the votes of the judges, who were, according to the late distribution of the prætor Cotta, partly knights and partly senators, were bought by the prostitution of the daughters of patrician families, or were forced into compliance by arms. The arm of Milo alone was able to deliver Rome from Clodius; and only Cato ventured to justify this act.

During these ten years Cæsar never visited Rome; he subdued barbarous nations scarcely known by name; he carried the Roman eagles to shores hitherto cut off from the world, and into the midst of the Hercynian forests. Pompey, surnamed the Great, forgot that this title is more difficult to maintain than to acquire. He became unused to war, and the continual presence of his never-condescending greatness was burdensome and odious to the people. The nobles alone sought in him a protector for the aristocracy against Cæsar. Julia, Cæsar's daughter, the beloved wife of Pompey, died just at the time when the senate made him sole consul, and when the government of Spain was decreed to him. He obtained permission, because it was for the good of the commonwealth, to assume, by means of his lieutenants, the command of the legions that were stationed there. He thus became possessed of an army commanded by leaders who were devoted to his interests, without exposing his reputation to any new proofs, and without being under the necessity of leaving the seat of supreme power and of the intrigues of state. When he fell sick, all Italy made vows to the gods for his recovery.

Cæsar, after having completed the conquest of the Transalpine, was received in triumph in all the cities of the ancient province and of Cisalpine Gaul: trophies of victory adorned the streets, the walls, the doors; all ages, both sexes, and all ranks of men, went in crowds to behold the great and generous Cæsar, to carry offerings to his tutelar gods, and to receive his soldiers with the rites of hospitality; for all tumults were now composed, from the tops of

the Pennine Alps to the morasses of the Batavian coast: the roads were rendered safe to the merchant, and the boundaries of Italy were secured.

Cæsar, for all these exploits, only demanded that, in his absence, and even before his triumph, he should be chosen a second time consul. Far more extraordinary things had been done for thirty years in favor of Pompey. But Pompey, little as he doubted of always continuing to be first, yet began to fear that his own personal splendor would be in some measure obscured. He accordingly demanded of Cæsar two legions which he had formerly lent him, and soon after it was decreed that the latter should disband his army, and seek the consulate according to the regular forms like a private citizen. The consul Marcellus, full of family pride, was strongly opposed to Cæsar's popular sentiments; Lentulus, the other consul, was obliged to obey the orders of his creditors; Scipio, Pompey's present father-in-law, had the dread of some judicial inquiries hanging over him, which were most likely to be suppressed by a political convulsion; Cato, true to his system, had condemned the violation of forms, even in the case of Pompey, and it seemed to him far more dangerous to allow it in favor of a citizen who was at the head of a victorious army; Cicero exerted himself in vain to maintain peace on any terms.

Among the tribunes of the people, the young Curio was distinguished for his great talents: it was not however difficult to gain him, whose extravagance was in proportion to his boundless licentiousness; and he became subservient to the cause of Cæsar. In the same party was his colleague, Marcus Antonius, like Curio in all things, except that Antony was the best warrior, while Curio possessed the greatest eloquence. All the other citizens in Rome who held offices and dignities, were in favor of Pompey; he himself maintained that he was sure of the general aversion of the soldiery towards Cæsar, and he reckoned upon ten legions as his own force. In this confidence, and without waiting for Cæsar's declaration, the senate decreed, as was customary in the greatest dangers, "that it belonged to the consuls, prætors, tribunes, and pro-consuls, to take all precautions to ward off perils and mischief from the common-

wealth; that a levy of soldiers should be held in Italy; that Cneius Pompey should be assisted by the public treasury, and commanders appointed in all the provinces who were favorable to his cause." Cæsar issued a declaration, that "he would disband his army, except one legion, and would seek the consulate at Rome according to the usual forms." It appears that the senate was not contented with this, because his presence was feared.

The most violent passions were awakened, and made their sport of the republic. All eyes in Rome, in Italy, in the empire, citizens and soldiers, were directed unceasingly towards the movements of Cæsar, and the long and daily sittings of the senate; old friendships were broken, enmities were appeased by party spirit, or both were suddenly forgotten.

In this decisive moment for himself and for the world, Cæsar concealed within his breast the movements of his mind. Five cohorts only were with him; the remainder of the army was scattered in numberless towns. Not far from Ariminum, now Rimini, there was a rivulet called the Rubicon, the modern name of which is Luso. It was the boundary of Italy, properly so called, which no general could pass unpermitted by the senate, without being declared an enemy of his country. On the bank of this stream Cæsar considered, in the silence of the night, whether he should lead his army against his country, and against the metropolis of the world. His soldiers found him at the break of day on the brink of the river, riding up and down in profound meditation; they anxiously observed his countenance, which betrayed strong emotion; it was an important day for the whole human race. At length Cæsar suddenly exclaimed, "the die is cast;" and setting spurs to his horse passed over the stream, followed by his soldiers.

SECTION XXVII.

CÆSAR'S CIVIL WAR.

All the cities on the Adriatic coasts opened their gates, the garrisons deserted, and the officers fled. Rome, remembering the massacres of Marius and Sylla, trembled in the expectation of new tables of proscription. On the information of Cæsar's approach, Pompey, together with the consuls, the senate, Cato, Piso, and Cicero, took flight with the utmost rapidity, and stopped not until they arrived at Capua. L. Domitius alone, expecting to receive succors, held out at Corfinium. Pompey, when he was now to risk in the contest the fame of so many triumphs, and power so long possessed, seemed unequal to himself. The garrison of Corfinium at length deserted, Domitius and all his officers were brought into the camp, and set at liberty by Cæsar, without his demanding even the sums which had been expended in fighting against him, or exacting any promise; he only complained that in this conjuncture they had not shown those sentiments towards him which his friendship for them had deserved.

When the garrisons of the towns and reinforcements from Gaul, augmented his army every day, he wrote the following letter to two of his friends: "Cæsar greets Oppius and Balbus. Before I received your admonitions I had formed the resolution of observing the greatest clemency towards all: by this method, I wished, if possible, to conquer the hearts of my enemies, and to render my victory lasting. My atrocious predecessors shall not be the examples of my conduct; but I mean to practise a new method of warfare, by winning my adversaries by benefits and kindness. These thoughts employ me day and night, and I am anxious to know also your opinions." He used to say, that "the remembrance of an act of cruelty would be a sorry companion for his last days."

Cæsar continually renewed his offers of peace; but when he arrived at Brundusium, Pompey escaped out of Italy. Cæsar then resolved, in the first place, to attack the chief

strong hold of his adversary, viz. his legions in Spain, under the skilful command of Afranius and Petreius; apprehending that this army, while he was pursuing a mere shadow, might pass into Italy, and make the bosom of his country the theatre of war.

He assembled at Rome the senate and people, and explained to them how he had been compelled by his enemies to these proceedings. Massilia, or Marseilles, would not receive his army, and he found himself under the necessity of laying siege to it. This city had been for many years the ally of the republic; the Massilians believed that they ought to adhere to the party of the senate, and neutrality seemed impossible. They held out against Cæsar's generals with the pertinacity which they inherited from their Phœcæan ancestors. At length Massilia yielded to the destiny which gave to Cæsar the empire of the world. This city remained afterwards a flourishing seat of the arts, as it had already been the source whence the civilization of Gaul, in earlier times, was in part derived.

The campaign in Spain was one of the most arduous, because the natural difficulties of the country were combined against the invader, with the arts of skilful generals. Cæsar found his army between many rapid streams, which in certain seasons are greatly swelled, almost inaccessible to provisions, reinforcements, and forage, while the enemy held a far more advantageous post. Here Cæsar surpassed himself, and infused into his army a fortitude similar to his own, so that the soldiers waded through the rivers where the water reached up to their necks, and by sudden marches frustrated all the attempts of the enemy. It happened at length that Afranius and Petreius, whose wives had been already congratulated at Rome, thought themselves fortunate to secure their lives, by surrendering their whole army, without fighting a battle. Cæsar immediately returned through Gaul and Italy to Rome, declared himself dictator, appeared as quickly as lightning at Brundusium, and on the opposite coast of Dyrrachium, now Durazzo.

"Ocior et cæli flammis et tigride fœtâ:
"Dum se deesse Deis et non sibi Numina credit."

While the last portion of his army was passing over the Adriatic, Cæsar, confiding in his fortune, went alone across the sea, in a little ferry-boat, in a tempestuous night, in order to hasten the embarkation on the opposite shore. In the mean time Pompey had summoned to his aid all the East, which he had formerly traversed in triumph, and which was devoted to his cause: on his side was Greece, Africa, and the venerable name of the Roman senate; he himself took courage, and displayed his military talents. His intention was to protract the war, in order to form his army, and to exhaust and weary his enemy. Unsuccessful skirmishes and want of provisions seemed to weaken Cæsar's army. But many senators, unacquainted with military affairs, censured Pompey for avoiding to fight, as if with a view of lengthening his period of command; and it was not possible for him, as for Cæsar, to follow freely his own counsels: a shade was already cast upon his reputation by the abandonment of Italy, and in his camp, politics were too much discussed; while Cæsar's army, confiding in him alone, executed his commands without dispute.

Pompey at length abandoned the position in which Cæsar could never have forced him to a battle: and instead of following the advice of those who expected great effects in his favor from the name of the republic, and passing back into Italy; he marched into the plains of Thessaly, and gave battle near the town of Pharsalus.

Cæsar's army advanced with firm steps, while Pompey made no movement, in the intent, perhaps, of falling on the enemy with unexhausted strength. The troops of Cæsar, already animated by exertion, guessing at the design of their adversary, suddenly made a halt, and after a short respite, threw their darts and spears, and drawing their swords rushed furiously on the astonished Pompeians. Many sons of senators, bred up in the effeminate life of citizens, and fitter for affairs of gallantry than of war, were struck with a panic when they saw themselves principally engaged, and perceived the merciless weapons of their assailants chiefly directed against their faces: they presently took flight. A part of the Pompeian cavalry fancied themselves victorious when they saw a portion of the enemy's

troops fly before them; in their pursuit they came unexpectedly, as Cæsar anticipated, upon a fourth rank, drawn up in close order, behind the three ranks of which the armies were usually composed. It consisted of Germans, and was only six cohorts strong, but it produced the effect of every unexpected phænomenon. The enemy's cavalry, without measuring their strength with it, suddenly fled, and made no halt until they reached the heights, which, at some distance on the opposite side, commanded the field of battle. While the Germans pursued them for some time, a wing of Cæsar's army fell upon the flank of Pompey's lines, now exposed by the flight of the cavalry, which had covered it. At the same time his three ranks formed themselves closely in one body, in order to bear down irresistibly with a triple onset on the enemy's front. When the fourth rank turned from the pursuit of the fugitives, it fell on the enemy in the rear. Pompey took flight, and the fortune of the day was decided. Cæsar, mindful of his constant maxims, rode through his lines, and said, "Spare them, warriors! they are citizens!" When the camp was taken, the baggage of Pompey was brought to him, containing all the letters of the nobles who were his enemies, and of his pretended friends. Without opening them he threw the whole into the fire. On the following day the remains of the army surrendered. Cato alone, taking new courage, because it was now manifestly no longer the cause of Pompey but of the laws that he was defending, fled past Corcyra, to the African coast, in order to renew the war.

Pompey retreated through Thessaly to the sea. Misfortune could not destroy in him the feeling of his own dignity. In Lesbos he found his wife, and he sought and found consolation in the principles of philosophy, the study of which he had never intermitted. Uncertain whether to trust the wrecks of his fortune and his hopes to the Parthians, to the African Juba, or to the king of Egypt, he resolved at length upon the latter expedient, because the young Ptolemy was bound to him by ties of obligation. The father of Ptolemy, when expelled from his kingdom, had owed his restoration to Pompey. He undertook and completed this voyage with admirable constancy, greater in

calamity than when thirty-four years before, in early youth, he marched in triumph to the Capitol; or when, at a later period, Asia had trembled before his name. On his arrival near Pelusium, he was beheaded by order of a servant of Ptolemy, who was afraid to act honorably towards him. The body of the greatest of the Roman citizens, for Cæsar was no longer one, was burnt meanly and privately by a poor soldier, who pitied his fate. When Cæsar saw his head, he wept. It was wanting to the splendor of his triumph, that he should have been able to save his illustrious adversary.

SECTION XXVIII.

CÆSAR'S LAST WAR, AND HIS DEATH.

Cato, Juba, Scipio, Labienus, and the sons of Pompey, roused Africa, Sicily, and Spain; some in the cause of Rome, others to revenge their friend and father. Cæsar, detained in Egypt by a contrary wind, as he pretended, but in reality by the charms of Cleopatra, fell into great danger of being killed in a tumult, occasioned by his attachment to that princess. Scarcely would he have avoided the fate of his great rival, if he had not thrown himself into the sea and escaped by swimming to a ship. In a battle which took place soon after, the Ægyptians fought without decisive success, but not without reputation, and Ptolemæus Dionysius was drowned in the sea. Cæsar bestowed the kingdom of her fathers on the beautiful Cleopatra, who bore him two sons.

It is however probable that Cæsar had other motives for delaying to prosecute the war against the partisans of Pompey, who were collecting to oppose him, otherwise he would doubtless have followed them after his departure from Alexandria: but he marched first into Lesser Asia and defeated the Pontic king Pharnaces, who could not have been a formidable enemy. He wished to give his enemies time to collect their forces, in order that one battle might decide the contest.

Cato, with the same courage which he had displayed in the senate, and afterwards evinced in death, had effected an extremely difficult march through the deserts of Africa, in which he seemed to have inspired his soldiers with his own magnanimity.

He gave up the chief command to Scipio, and they fought a valiant but unfortunate battle at Thapsus against Cæsar. The spirit of the party was now broken, and Cato gave his assistance to his friends for their safe embarkation at Utica. After he had done all that was possible for them and for Rome, he filled his mind with the sentiment of the dignity of human nature, which elevates itself above time and chance, and "becomes, when it will, divine." Occupied with this thought, he gave up Rome to the conqueror, and by a voluntary death emancipated himself from all the power which the visible world possesses over those who know not themselves.

The question has been asked, "What would Cato not have been able to effect if he had possessed a strength of mind which would have enabled him to wait for the death of Cæsar?" But Cato was too different from other men to know how to govern them. His intrepidity was sufficiently great, and his last act cannot be seductive; for, in order to die such a death it would be necessary to have lived like Cato.

Afterwards Juba and Petreius supped together and immediately killed themselves. Scipio escaped to a ship: having reached it and finding himself discovered, he said, "Scipio is here and is well," and saying these words he slew himself. Scipio was not otherwise a great man, but every Roman had a sentiment which finally elevated him above all earthly destinies.

The other leaders of Pompey's party betook themselves to Spain. Near Munda a battle was fought between Cæsar and the sons of Pompey, in which the former was in the utmost danger of being finally deserted by his good fortune. He was already lamenting the evil destiny which had suffered him to live to that day, when a new effort gave him the victory and cost the eldest of Pompey's sons his life. To-

wards the termination of this dreadful tragedy, both parties seemed to summon the utmost fortitude. The besiegers fought as from a rampart of heaped-up bodies against the defenders of the walls. A storm in the strait did not prevent a sea-fight between the two fleets, which happened to meet.

Cæsar, however, triumphed over Gaul, the Rhine, Britain, Egypt, Pontus, Mauritania, and Spain. He was appointed dictator for life; his person declared inviolable, and the title of "Father of his country" bestowed upon him. It was when the fate of an enemy depended upon him that Cæsar chiefly followed the impulse of his feelings. When he had condemned to death Legarius, against whom he was particularly enraged, Cicero, whom he had forgiven, pronounced an oration in his defence; Cæsar heard unwillingly the beginning of the speech, and sought to divert his attention from it by reading a letter which he held in his hand, but when Cicero came to the termination of his harangue and addressed the dictator in these words: "Of all thy virtues, O Cæsar, mercy is the most admirable. Mortals become then like the Gods when they forgive; when they diffuse happiness around them. In thy exalted fortune nothing is more noble than the occasions it affords thee of exercising mercy and benevolence; nothing in thy nature more magnanimous than the disposition which it displays to such actions:"—Cæsar partook of the emotion which was excited by the orator, and granted pardon to the accused. In like manner he forgave the absent consul Marcellus in order to gratify the senate.

Since it was expedient that the legions should be employed, Cæsar resolved to avenge the death of Crassus against the Parthians, or to complete the conquest of the nations on the shores of the Euxine. As supreme Pontiff he ordered an inquiry to be made into the chronological system, and a more accurate calendar to be prepared; and he formed a plan for a general code of laws. When we reflect on what he had accomplished and sketched out in the space of a few months, and on all the crimes which he might have committed, not without specious excuses, and which he suffered himself not to perpetrate; when we also take into the account that he appeared at the same time to desire the

consolidation of his authority: we are authorized in inferring, that he would have sought to retain a power so dearly purchased, and which could not be laid down with safety; but that he would so have ruled that both the empire would have obtained a regular constitution, and his successors would have found in his reign an example for their conduct.

Cæsar probably hoped to be allowed to complete his work, and that the Romans would forgive him his usurpation, as he had forgiven his enemies. Except in battle scarcely any man had suffered by his means; tranquillity and happiness had followed the civil war; Cæsar himself was surrounded by men who had to thank him for their lives or for signal benefits: but the old republican spirit yet survived, and tribunes of the people dared to make complaints against the dictator; the most dangerous, however, were those who kept silence.

Marcus Brutus had imbided the principles of Cato, which he combined with gentler manners: he believed it lawful to proceed to any extremities for the liberty of Rome, yet that more evil should not be done than was absolutely necessary; and judging from ancient examples he concluded that a single act might suffice for the restoration of the Republic. We are not permitted, according to him, to consider the distempers of our country as incurable, or to fail in attempting every thing for the revival of ancient virtue. He did not wish to reign, and he had no private animosities to gratify: but Brutus was a Roman, and thought he ought to acknowledge no other sovereign than the law. His friend Cassius was discontented at not being made consul; his virtue was not so formidable as his contempt of life. Whoever fears not death is always to be feared. The remembrance of the principles in which every individual had been educated; the eloquence with which historians had celebrated Harmodius and Aristogiton, and other similar personages; a spirit of patriotism, noble but not sufficiently enlightened with respect to the state of Rome; together with some private motives; gave origin to a close association between men who in their principles and manners had otherwise no resemblance. Cæsar was stabbed by them in the senate-house, and fell pierced by twenty-three wounds.

SECTION XXIX.

THE CIVIL WAR OF BRUTUS AND CASSIUS.

The destruction of the ancient constitution of a free country produces such an impression, that the act of Brutus in all ages has been justified by many, and excused by others. If we consider the characters of most of the rulers into whose hands Cæsar's unbounded power descended; if we put into the scale the total loss of the ancient Roman virtues, the ruin of the empire, the long night of barbarism which ensued, and the irrecoverable loss of the arts and sciences; we feel assured that if Cæsar's illustrious shade could behold these consequences, it would lament the occasion of them. If we advert to the sequel of his assassination, to the crimes of the three new tyrants, the blood that was shed at Philippi, the impossibility of maintaining a republic without morals, or of preserving morals in so great a republic; if we weigh all these circumstances well, we shall perceive that it was not Julius Cæsar, but the unjust spirit of conquest which prevailed at Rome, that was the cause of her calamities. When we reflect how difficult it is to have all things within our grasp without an occasional abuse of power; when we recognise by an inward self-examination, how uncertain it is whether we ourselves in the like case should act with greater moderation; we are inclined to forgive Rome her conquests, and Cæsar his usurpation; we lament the weakness of reason in her contest with the passions, and we receive an admonition in our own breasts to use greater diligence in moderating our own desires.

After Cæsar's death Marcus Antonius, one of his best officers, a man of talents and energy, but given up to dissolute pleasures, attempted to turn the confusion of public affairs as much as possible to his own advantage. The young Octavius, whom Cæsar his great uncle had appointed his heir, was treated by Antony without much consideration as a youth of unripe age, till it became manifest how capable Octavius was of assuming all the virtues and

perpetrating the crimes necessary for acquiring and maintaining power. Lepidus, a rich man of noble family, but in personal qualities far their inferior, associated himself in the sequel to Octavius and Antony.

Immediately after Cæsar's death, Cicero hoped to preserve peace by ratifying all his acts, and by dismissing the conspirators into the provinces allotted to them, and by a general amnesty. To the pretensions of Antony, the young Cæsar Octavius, to whom many of the soldiers of the late dictator adhered, was opposed with the most flattering distinction, as the man on whom Rome rested her chief hopes.

The first war broke out by an attempt of Antony to drive Decimus Brutus, one of the conspirators, out of his province of Cisalpine Gaul. Antony held him besieged in Mutina or Modena. The young Cæsar gave, by adopting the will of his late uncle, the first proof of courage. "If Cæsar," said he to his mother and step-father, who urged him to refuse, "if Cæsar judged me worthy of his name, how shall I bring myself to declare that I am unworthy of it!" He had on this conjuncture the prudence to agree with the senate, as long as he could confide in it more securely than in Antony. He felt no reluctance in uniting his army, at first inconsiderable, with that which the consuls Hirtius and Pansa led to the relief of Modena, and in assisting to relieve the murderer of his uncle. Antony was forced to take flight; Cicero again armed himself with that eloquence with which, twenty years before, he had saved Rome from Catiline.

Octavius Cæsar was flattered, but not adorned with the consulate so soon as he wished. The extreme promptitude early observed in him to adopt any measures which led to the desired object, and to sacrifice all things without reluctance to his end, which was the attainment of power, soon created apprehension. It was believed by many that the consuls who had fallen before Modena had been killed not without his secret contrivance. Yet it was not supposed to be a difficult matter to get rid of this youth, when Antony should once have fallen.

The latter fled from Modena, into Transalpine Gaul,

where Lepidus and Plancus commanded armies, as it was supposed, for the senate. He had the good fortune to gain friends among the army of Lepidus, and he ventured, knowing the weakness of this general, into his camp. Instead of putting him to death as the most dangerous enemy of the Republic, Lepidus was gained over by him. Plancus, who always served the strongest party, followed this example. The jealousy between the senate and young Cæsar increased; under these circumstances he received the following proposals from Antony: "Is Cæsar determined always to wage war for those who hate him, and for the murderers of his father, against the old friend of the latter, who would avenge his death? In this case Antony sees himself compelled to embrace the party of Brutus and Cassius against him. Octavius may reflect whether a combination for carrying on Cæsar's work would not be more congruous to circumstances, to their mutual interests, and to nature."

The negotiation thus entered into was completed in a meeting which the young Cæsar, Antony, and Lepidus, held on a little island, formed by the Ghironda and Lavino, not far from Bologna. Here they resolved to maintain, and agreed upon a division of the supreme power, and arranged tables of proscription for the destruction of their common enemies; 300 senators, 2000 knights, and many other respectable citizens, were involved in this calamity. As Antony gave up to the animosities of the others his uncle Lucius Cæsar, and Lepidus his own brother Paulus, Octavian also betrayed Cicero, who had assisted him against Antony, whom his uncle and father had loved, and distinguished, who had not taken the smallest share in the conspiracy, and could not be formidable without support. Cicero was murdered by Popillius Lænus, whose life and honor he had saved by a defensive oration. In the 64th year of his life, weary of the corrupt age in which he lived, Tullius died with unexpected constancy, and left behind him a better name than those who sacrificed him; and Octavian to his latest years, after he had long been called Augustus, felt with grief, that he had stained his laurels by this act.

B. C. 42. The horrors of the age of Marius and Sylla revived. Antony also caused the heads of murdered senators to be brought to him during his meals; and Fulvia stuck through with needles the tongue with which Cicero had faithfully depicted the character of her husband. Private hatred and interest were the secret motives of many cold-blooded murders perpetrated under political pretexts: the Roman character was lost.

The Triumvirs now undertook the pursuit of Cassius, who had made himself master of Syria, and of Brutus, who governed Macedonia. They possessed together a force of seventeen legions; they ruled their provinces equitably, and were formidable only to Dolabella, C. Antonius, P. Vatinius, and other bad citizens.

B. C. 40. The war undertaken against them was terminated at Philippi in Macedonia. Brutus fought with the resolution of a man who is sure of not surviving a defeat; he took the camp of Octavius, and the victory was on his side. Before Cassius received information of this good fortune, he was deceived by the shortness of his sight; and believing every thing to be lost, he hastened to destroy himself. After a few days, Brutus suffered a loss; he felt that his enemies gained the ascendency, and despaired of Rome and the cause of virtue; he resolved to terminate the war, which he waged against his inclination, and slew himself. The son of Cato also fell, together with the young Lucullus, educated by Cato, and his faithful friend Volumnius, a son of Hortensius, who was worthy of his father; with Varus in the insignia of his office, Drusus Livius, the father of Livia; and many others who could not resolve to outlive Brutus and Cassius, and the liberty of Rome.

SECTION XXX.

OF THE UNION OF POWER IN THE HANDS OF A SINGLE RULER.

Sextus Pompeius, the son of the great Pompey, was still in arms, and carried on for many years a maritime war

against Cæsar Octavianus, in which the latter experienced great difficulties. Still greater commotions were occasioned by the private passions of the Triumvirs. Fulvia the widow of Clodius and wife of Antony excited a war by means of her sister's husband, whom she engaged in a contest against Octavian. Lepidus often vacillated, until Octavian succeeded in seducing his army from him and excluding him from the chief power. The citizens were sacrificed by all parties: the brother of Antony was forgiven; while the city of Perusia, which had declared itself for him, was burnt. How many families were deprived of their property, before estates had been distributed to the forty-seven legions of Octavian, before the continually renewed demands of military expenditure were satisfied!

In the mean time Pacorus, son of king Orodes, fell victoriously upon Lesser Asia: Ventidius forced the Parthian back into his territories; but the Triumvir Antony, who designed to avenge Rome, thought himself fortunate in escaping from a country, with the natural peculiarities of which he was unacquainted, after losing a fourth part of his army and nearly all his baggage. Thenceforth he devoted himself entirely to Queen Cleopatra; the fortitude of the warrior was lost in all kinds of licentiousness, in an effeminate life, and in the most capricious undertakings. His pride remained; and he offended his more prudent colleague by divorcing Octavia, the sister of the latter.

Octavianus Cæsar was not less prone than Antony to sensual pleasures: but the greater exertion which was required to govern Rome than Alexandria; to control the scarcely subdued republic than to domineer over the slaves of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, inspired him early with a vigilant prudence. Policy indeed was in general his talent rather than war; his fate had thrown him into the former from his 19th year. On that account he was the more ready to found his authority on the will of the senate and people, and to observe during his life the form of laying down his command every tenth year, as an extraordinary trust granted to him for a certain time, and of suffering himself to be entreated to resume it. Thus he deceived

the Romans during fifty years with the phantom of their republic.

When Antony was preparing for arms, Octavianus found means to give the war, which he undertook as if unwillingly, the appearance of a contest waged by him against a plan for subjecting Rome to an Egyptian woman, and burying all the forms of freedom under the establishment of kingly power. Marcus Agrippa, a man of great intellect and indefatigable energy, was the friend of Octavian, incapable by his want of power of usurping for himself, and sheltered by his known integrity from the suspicion of such a design. This able general, who had already conquered Sextus Pompeius, was the soul of the war on Cæsar's side. He led into Greece eight legions and five cohorts, and about 250 galleys. Antony's ships were larger, but Agrippa's were more manageable. He made himself master of many ports, and was thus enabled to cut off Antony's supplies and reinforcements. The latter conducted himself with the carelessness of an experienced general who had exhausted his strength in the bosom of voluptuousness; his army, commanded by Sosius and Publicola, manfested a good disposition; but the Queen in the sea-fight off the promontory of Actium set the example of seeking safety in flight; and Antony, as soon as he was informed of it, followed her. Thus abandoned, his soldiers for the most part surrendered, and were forgiven by Octavian, who afterwards proceeded to Egypt, and without difficulty conquered the remainder of the forces of his enemy. On a report of the death of the Queen, Antony killed himself. She survived, and still had reliance in the power of her charms; but she found the heart of her conqueror sealed against her. Cleopatra then disdained life; the daughter of the Ptolemies, she whom Cæsar had loved and Antony adored, in order to avoid gracing the triumphal car of the victor, destroyed herself by the bite of an asp, or by means of a poisoned needle.

B. C. 29. In the 293d year from the death of Alexander the Great, the kingdom of Egypt became a Roman province. In the same year, the 479th from the establishment of the Roman Consulate, in the 724th year from

the building of the city, Cæsar Octavianus, now Augustus the revered, the inviolable, became sole ruler of the Roman world. He possessed all the power which had hitherto been exercised by the Consuls, whose office still continued, and by the tribunes of the people; with the supreme administration of the Roman arms, and the government of the provinces most important in military affairs. The legions obtained their rewards, the Roman people bread and bublic shows, and the empire peace. The forms of the constitution remained, but obedience became the first of virtues. Under the gentle reign of Octavian, which lasted 44 years, from this time the republic was forgotten; even old men remembered only its corruptions, its civil wars, and its proscriptions.

BOOK VII.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER THE CÆSARS AS LONG AS THE FORMS OF THE REPUBLIC WERE PRESERVED.—A. C. 29, TO A. D. 284.

SECTION I.

AUGUSTUS.

It is only in a great number of comparatively small states that many illustrious men appear. A mighty empire reposes its confidence in the strength of its mass and the multitude of its resources; the dangers that threaten it appear for a long time only imaginary; and merit, by its own excellence, is seldom elevated to a conspicuous place. As soon as ignoble means lead with equal certainty to fortune and splendor, the minds of men become enervated, and the gigantic body is soon without a soul. Such was the fate of Rome. When the empire seemed to have no longer any thing to apprehend, and the sport of factions had

ceased, the race of great men became extinct. Most of the Cæsars, of whom very few were worthy of their high rank, were afraid of splendid talents, which gave to private men an independent greatness. For as there was no law which defined the succession to the throne; a noble descent, or riches; fame acquired in discharging public offices, or the wise and magnanimous refusal of such dignities; eloquence and shining virtues; were objects of jealousy and apprehension with the Cæsars and their houses. A man who appeared bold enough to conceive the lofty idea of raising himself to the supreme power, as well as he whom the public voice named the best and most worthy, was almost sure of attracting suspicious observation, and in general of suffering a violent death. The great and good emperors were neither the offspring of the sovereigns who preceded them, nor the descendants of the old Roman conquerors; but commonly warriors elected, who had raised themselves by military talents from a private station, and often from the meanest rank. Those who acquired the throne by succession, were corrupted by early indulgences; and for the most part slaves of their appetites, or parasites of the court.

After the arms of Octavian, under the conduct of Agrippa, had destroyed the last participator in the sovereignty, and there now existed neither at Rome nor in the whole empire any powerful chief at the head of a considerable party of troops, the victorious chief sought anxiously to conceal from the eyes of the people and the army the secret that his authority only depended upon arms, and to hold out the unanimous wish of the free senate and people of Rome as its true foundation. He justly feared nothing so much for himself and for the commonwealth, as to fall under the dominion of the soldiery: and he surrounded himself with the forms of the republic, as affording an honorable sanction to his power. Under the name of Augustus, which he now assumed, he seems to have affected to rule with paternal authority, and to claim from the world that veneration which is due to the paternal character.

In his administration Augustus followed the counsels of the Roman knight Cilnius Mæcenas, who possessed great

activity in discovering and suppressing dangerous enterprises, and appeared at the same time so indolent, so much given up to tranquil enjoyment, and of so careless a character, that none believed him to be endowed with so much vigilance and circumspection. Mæcenas taught Augustus to become popular and humane; he surrounded him with the most enlightened men of his age, and inspired him with a noble passion for great and honorable pursuits. Augustus wished to be in reality the father and benefactor of Rome, though he was still more anxious to appear in that character; and he forbore every thing which might have rendered his extraordinary power odious, with as much care as a prince of common mind would have taken to render his power conspicuous.

Thus the senate punished, according to the laws, Egnatius and Muræna, who had had the audacity to set on foot a conspiracy against Augustus, while he appeared to take no notice of the affair, and forbade even his confidants (for he knew the happiness of having friends) to call him master: he was only a chief elected by freemen to watch for ten years over the public safety. In this view, he was well pleased when the people sometimes passed by those whom he recommended to dignities and offices. He was well satisfied that Pollio and other powerful men should speak in the senate with apparent freedom; and conceived no displeasure against Titus Livius for appearing in his history favorable to the party of Pompey.

There was nothing in the regulation of his household by which he was remarkably distinguished from the rich senators. He not only loved good society, but was anxious to give perpetual exercise to his talents: he accustomed himself every day to read, and to make some comments on the subjects of his study. The manners of the old republic prevailed in his outward demeanor, and his table was moderate. It is true that he had powerful appetites, from the gratification of which even policy could not restrain him; but this was known to few, and he sought by all means to avoid publicity in such matters. He exerted his whole authority in restraining the effects of his own example; and he spoke in the senate against corruption of manners as a

censor or a father of his people. Few men have known so well as Augustus the human heart; he appeared not so much to regard any excess, as effeminacy of character and the habit of being occupied with trifles; nor so much to dread that the Romans should have vices, as that they should become incapable of virtues.

While thus governing, as it seemed, against his own will, according to the laws and only for the common good; he disbanded twenty legions, and restored thirty thousand slaves, who during the war had been levied into the service, to their former masters. He treated the army with a dignified gentleness; he no longer named the soldiers "*his comrades*," but "*warriors*;" and he kept them under discipline, and allowed them no privilege that should raise them much above other men. He suffered the wars against the barbarous hordes in Spain, in the Alps, in Dalmatia, Germany, Pannonia, Africa, and the East, to be carried on with no more exertion than seemed necessary, in order to maintain on the borders the terror of the Roman arms, and the military spirit of the legions. The empire received under him few augmentations of any importance; the Parthians, the Indians, the Arabs of Yemen, and some German nations paid homage to him by embassies; but he three times closed the temple of Janus, because all the world was in peace. He avoided all great movements, and compared an emperor who sought wars "to a fisherman who throws golden nets;" and he remarked, that the laurels of victory 'are beautiful, but useless." He introduced by degrees the maxim not to extend the empire; and sought to render its mighty name less odious and terrible, and wished to afford tranquillity to the nations.

It is true that the new government, while it maintained the forms of the commonwealth, never acquired the genuine maxims of monarchy; and when the manners and the spirit of the republic were wholly extinct, no other principles were substituted for them, but the whole fabric fell upon its own ruins, without order or system. But this want required to be supplied according to circumstances, not under Augustus, but by some illustrious legislator among his successors; and such an one never appeared. So much the more

needful were the good fortune of Rome, the harmony of individual parts, and the remains of republican virtue; in order to maintain for centuries this prodigious extent of power under such essential defects.

Augustus adorned the city; and he exerted himself to promote its population, and to induce the great to reside for the most part in Rome under his eyes. Public magnificence was suitable to his policy; since it gave a feeling and an appearance of general happiness, which increased the love and veneration of the supreme magistrate.

Three things were wanting to the happiness of Augustus: in the first place, he was not able to erase from the memory of history the acts of his youth and the tables of proscription; secondly, avaricious and negligent generals had suffered the German Arminius to gain a great victory over the legions; and lastly, the gods refused him the good fortune of leaving Rome under a successor worthy of his esteem. Yet the apparent impulse of circumstances lessened the guilt of the first; the victory of Arminius remained, on account of the great inferiority of his power, without lasting or immediate consequences; and it has been said that Augustus might expect the more favor from posterity towards his own memory, as there was less of virtue in his successor. In the seventy-sixth year of a life, on the whole very prosperous and even beneficent, Augustus finished, like a skilful performer, his well-acted part on the theatre of the world.

SECTION II.

TIBERIUS.

Tiberius, the step-son of Augustus, whom that prince had adopted, carefully secured the choice of the soldiers, and suffered himself to be entreated by the senate to accept the chief honors, which for many years he had sought by every means. During his reign a new system of government gradually began to display itself.

Tiberius was a chief of no mean acquirements in military tactics, and, in the arts of dissimulation, a rival of his prede-

cessor; but as he had lived till his fifty-fifth year in the midst of intrigues and evasions, his mind had become incapable of any elevated or noble sentiment. Under the long sway of his father, servility and flattery had at length made such a progress, that Tiberius had never learnt to estimate men; he only knew them on the contemptible or dangerous side. He had all the faults of Augustus, and none of his virtues. He was distinguished from succeeding tyrants by being at first cruel according to system, and by degrees giving a looser rein to the impulses of a soul darkened by anxious timidity, and of an unfeeling heart; while his successors allowed themselves, from the first, whatever delirious rage or base envy suggested to them—whatever their own passions or insinuated suspicions counselled.

The vigilance of Augustus was at length fatiguing to Tiberius; but he wanted courage to abolish the forms which recalled the memory of ancient times and institutions; and he preferred to destroy, under various pretences, all who either by their personal qualities in the senate, or by preponderating influence elsewhere, appeared able or desirous to attain to public honors.

Tiberius felt himself under restraint until he had seen the end of the noble Germanicus, the chief object of his anxious vigilance, who perished not without suspicion of poison; but he afterwards loosened the rein more and more to his atrocious passions. A. D. 16. He had formed himself a cabinet or secret council of twenty chief senators; of these eighteen were put to death by his command, and the nineteenth destroyed himself.

From this time the Roman history puts on a gloomy aspect; the great names of antiquity were exterminated, or we observe them with far keener regret disgraced by their posterity. Now we hear the mandates of the hoary tyrant, inspired by a black policy, issue from the inaccessible palaces of Capreæ, the abodes of sensual vice; now in the capitol we behold the turbulent fury of senseless youth on the pinnacle of the world. All the laws of reason and of the former ages were obscured and trodden down by the new code of treason; the provinces were exhausted by the cupidity of governors, and laid waste by the incursions of barbarians.

Tiberius humiliated the Roman people by abolishing the Comitiæ; to preserve discipline was less the object of his care than to prevent any general from becoming formidable to him; yet he neither changed the military commanders nor the governors of provinces so often as might be supposed, for it was difficult to him to resolve on the choice of new servants, and he was apprehensive of having discontented subjects; and cautious age was less the object of his suspicion than adventurous youth.

SECTION III.

CAIUS; CLAUDIUS; NERO.

Augustus had seen the republic and the great Cæsar; under Augustus, Tiberius had been in some measure formed

A. D. 39. Caius Cæsar Caligula was acquainted only with tyranny; he knew that every thing was within his power, and committed the most violent excesses, as if to try how much mankind would endure.

A. D. 41. When Chærea had freed the world from Caligula, the senate imagined themselves able to abolish the memory of the Cæsars, and re-organize the republic of Rome: but in the course of twice twenty-four hours, the assembly learnt that the prætorian guard had given away the sovereignty. The object of their choice was Claudius Cæsar, a victim of sloth and the most contemptible passions, and the pattern of those princes who are given up to the gratification of their own desires. He became, by his abject indolence, the mere tool of his women and slaves. He did not keep two catalogues of the senators and knights who were destined to death, as Caligula had done; the box of poison which that tyrant concealed for the destruction of worthy citizens, was ordered by Claudius to be thrown into the sea; yet, during the thirteen years of his reign, thirty-five senators and three hundred knights fell by violent deaths.

A. D. 54. After this ignominious reign, the abject servility of which excited a stronger feeling than any of the

more violent atrocities which had preceded; the five first years of Nero's government afforded a respite to the world, of which the cruelty of the nine following rendered it more sensible.

Nero was not destitute of talents, or devoid of a feeling for virtue; but a too early abandonment to voluptuousness, the hypocrisy of his mother and his instructer, and the sophistry of his flatterers, who knew how to give a false color to every action, seem to have rendered him at length wholly indifferent even to appearances. The old patricians had little influence; they were feared, hated, and exterminated; the plebeians, whose senseless spirit of faction had raised the first Cæsar above the laws, were now no more; the generals, to whom or to whose fathers the emperors owed their sovereignty, were kept at a distance from jealous suspicion. Slaves, whose wit or personal recommendations had gained their freedom, became the rulers of the court and empire, the protectors and terror of the provinces. All the passions of the monarch cost sacrifices; and where he had no passions to be gratified, the more shamelessly did the influence of those wretches display itself by whom his will was governed. The pursuit of honors, to which ambition or poverty had prompted, was extinguished together with the spirit of conquest; and that confidence in themselves which discipline gives to armies, was lost when the exercise of arms was neglected. The soldiery were insolent, because they alone were flattered amidst the general servility; and the more they became aware of their influence, the more insecure and tottering was the throne.

Nero, before the thirty-second year of his age, had murdered his mother, his brother, his guardians, his tutor, many senators and citizens; he had burnt the greater part of the city out of mere wantonness; had set at defiance, more publicly than any other man had yet done, all laws, even those of nature; he had sacrificed to his thirst of blood, not only Poppæa, the instrument of his passions, but virtue herself represented in the person of Thrasea; and he finally escaped, by voluntary death, the vengeance of the impatient world. A. D. 68. The flames of civil war were now rekindled with new violence.

Already the rebellion of Vindex had been quelled by Virginius Rufus, a man of primitive virtue; but Servius Galba, an old warrior, of good family and unimpeached reputation, was scarcely elected Cæsar, when Nero's party put him to death, and raised Salvius Otho, the companion of the tyrant's pleasures, to the purple. In Otho voluptuousness had not extinguished all noble and heroic feelings. When he had learnt that the army in Germany (A. D. 69) had called Vitellius from the banquetting table to the throne, and that fortune had favored his generals in the battle of Bedriacum, Otho destroyed himself in order to spare the blood of his countrymen. Thereupon the legions which lay before Jerusalem resolved to elevate the most worthy to the highest dignity; and Vespasian was approaching Rome when Vitellius paid for a short career of pleasure by a violent death.

Flavius Vespasianus was summoned from the Jewish war to the government of the world; his son Titus was left to fulfil the counsel of Providence, with respect to Jerusalem. The tyranny of the Roman prætor, dreadful civil dissensions, and a stiff-necked adherence to an erroneous interpretation of the old prophets, which flattered their vanity, cost the Jewish people the lives of thirteen hundred thousand persons (A. D. 70.), the existence of their noble metropolis, and their place of national union, the temple of Jehovah. Scarcely was the extermination of the whole people of Helvetia prevented by the pleading of a pathetic orator. Civiles excited Gaul to insurrection, the Germans crossed the Rhine, Syria was threatened by the Parthians, while at Rome the capitol was consumed amid the terrors of a turbulent sedition. Every street and hall of justice was polluted by bloodshed, by the violence of the soldiery and the cries of the populace. Under Nero the first christians had lately suffered on the flaming pile, for their contempt of the public rites which still prevailed.

We are unable to say whether the patience of men or the wantonness of guilt, in the period that preceded the reigns of the Flavii, is the most astonishing. While legions pined in captivity among the Parthians, and Britain revolted, the rich citizens of Rome trembled before Nero, who

sought in confiscations and slaughters the sources of revenue, whence his lavish expenditure was supplied. After the parents of noble families, in the time of Messalina, had feared to forbid the prostitution of their daughters; after Agrippina had sought in vain by her personal charms to enslave her son, afterwards her murderer; the Roman senate, scarcely a hundred years from the death of Cato, was assembled to witness a contract of marriage between the emperor and two slaves. This Nero, who had projected to destroy the whole senate by poison, found friends after his death; it was fashionable to profess to imitate him, and monuments were raised to his memory. Man, debased and corrupt, is glad to find celebrated examples to still the secret alarms of his own conscience; and crimes lose their appearance of guilt when they become the fashion of the times.

SECTION IV.

THE FLAVII.

Under Vespasian Rome obtained a respite of nine years from these convulsions. The most enterprising of the factious chiefs had fallen in the wars, and the more fortunate of them hailed the enjoyment of repose. Although the emperor had to thank the army for his throne, he permitted himself to be formally invested, by a decree of the senate, with "the privileges of assembling that body as often as might be necessary; of bringing before them five propositions in each session; of confirming or annulling their resolutions; of promoting those whom they considered as most worthy, to civil and military dignities and offices; of freely adopting whatever measures might be serviceable to the commonwealth, to general and private happiness, and to good order in divine and human affairs; of being elevated, as Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius had been, above the laws; of making war, peace, and leagues of alliance, and otherwise exercising all power, as Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius had done, in such a manner that no decree of the senate, no order of the people, could be empowered to im-

pede the rights entrusted to him by this edict, or to interfere with the exercise of the same."

Rome was restored to rest, and as soon as military discipline was re-established, the Parthians submitted to a treaty of peace; a regular administration of the finances became to every wealthy citizen a guarantee of his security; and under this reign, and that of Titus which followed, the treasury was the resource of the unfortunate. The ignominious profession of informer lost its profit; vigilance detected, and mild treatment put to shame the perjurer. Vespasian and Titus lived as confidential friends with the best and wisest men, and in times of peace the senate ensured stability and respect to the imperial authority. Vespasian was just. Titus was the delight of mankind, and one of the most virtuous of the human race. A. D. 79.

A. D. 81. It is true that his brother Domitian had not courage to be honest; he was jealous of the illustrious senators, and caused several of them to be put to death; he witnessed with pleasure, if he did not accelerate, the death of Agricola, his best general, the real conqueror of Britain Yet though he had all the inclinations of Nero, Domitian ventured not so far; he was not without merits, and was desirous of fame in military exploits, which he wished to be thought to direct; and he sought to immortalize himself by adding ornaments to the city. He was cruel only through timidity; he was almost continually surrounded with eunuchs, and pretended to be invulnerable, in the vain conceit of passing for a god.

SECTION V.

THE PROSPEROUS TIMES OF THE EMPIRE.

In the mean time there arose in the Roman world, in the place of the old republican virtue, a lofty elevation of character founded on the maxims of the Stoics, to desire nothing passionately, and to fear nothing in the career of virtue. Men of superior minds found consolation in their inward greatness for the loss of political power, and were happy

even amidst calamities. The most noble of the senators were Stoics; this doctrine imparted to them dignity without rendering them objects of alarm, and the rulers of the world were willing to allow that philosophy employs the minds of illustrious men with a dignity more worthy of them than worldly greatness.

A. D. 96. After Domitian had been assassinated, his successor Nerva, a venerable old man, confided the cares of government, which were too heavy for himself, to Trajan.

A. D. 98. During more than two hundred years, the senate was accustomed to hail every new emperor with the exclamation, "Reign fortunately, as Augustus; virtuously, as Trajan." He was the greatest of the Cæsars since the time of the dictator, and the best of them all, since he had no civil war, no injustice to reproach himself with. The greatest and most estimable qualities were in him so balanced that no place was given for excess in any of them; and we may doubt whether his excellent understanding and heroic spirit deserve more veneration, or his goodness and the amiable complexion of his whole character excite more affectionate esteem. Never was a monarch so enterprising, so great in his designs, so persevering in the completion of them, and at the same time so little anxious for external splendor; so gracious to all the citizens, and on such terms of equality with his friends. Trajan extended the bounds of the empire, which had been maintained with difficulty since the time of Augustus, beyond the fruitful plains and mountains of Dacia, which included Moldavia and Transylvania; on Caucasus, he subdued the hordes who disturbed Asia; the emirs of the Arabian desert acknowledged his commands; and at length Crassus was revenged, and the plans of Cæsar were accomplished. He conquered the Parthian residence of Ctesiphon; he sent ships to India; and his age alone prevented him from renewing the exploits of Alexander. This illustrious conqueror, as he walked through the streets of Rome, permitted every citizen to accost him with freedom. Among his friends he indulged in wine, but we are only informed of this excess in consequence of the injunction which he gave never to perform the orders he might issue at such times. In the like man-

ner, when he delivered his sword to the captain of his guard, he said, "For me, if I govern well; against me, if I would become a tyrant." During his reign, which lasted nineteen years, only one senator was capitally punished, and he had been found worthy of death by his colleagues. Many exactions in the provinces were mitigated or remitted by him; he wished to place his treasure in the hearts of his people, who were devoted to him. In the choice of his ministers and friends he gave the preference to men of the greatest industry and most simple manners. The legal system of Rome was brought to perfection under his guidance, and he ornamented the city and the empire with magnificent buildings, and founded an extensive library. A. D. 117. All the nations, whose wounds he healed, revered him as a viceregent of the beneficent gods, and their tears were his most eloquent panegyric. From Cilicia, where he died, in the town of Seleucia, his body was conveyed to Rome; it was received by the senate and people, carried in pomp into the city, and deposited in the forum named after him, under that pillar, 140 feet in height, on which his exploits are inscribed. That pillar yet defies the impotence of time, as the name of Trajan rises above the oblivion and indifference in which history has involved the multitude of kings.

This greatest and best successor of Cæsar had been educated in the camp; for military virtues survived all others. When we compare him with Augustus, the good qualities of the latter appear the effect of prudence and wise design, while those of Trajan flowed from the impulses of his natural feelings.

The emperor Hadrian, of whom it is not certain whether he was in reality adopted by Trajan, was, without being equal to him, worthy of succeeding him. He had a genius capable of embracing the most extensive views and the most minute details of affairs and of literature. He gave the empire ramparts against the barbarians of Caledonia and of Germany; he appeased the Parthians by the restoration of conquered lands, and established in that quarter the natural boundaries; he suppressed with reputation the dangerous rebellion of the Jews under Barkochab; he

passed on foot through all the districts of his extensive empire, and made particular inquiry into the affairs of every province; he regulated the court with an order and propriety that became a pattern to his successors on the throne. We therefore forgive him for fancying that he knew more than Phavorinus on matters of profound learning, and for suffering the decline of good taste to become visible in his wonderful edifices. He was in every respect more given up to his passions than Trajan, even in the vices with which they were both contaminated. Hadrian did not resist his anger and impatience so successfully as his predecessor; he caused some senators to be put to death without sufficient reason. In all other things he was great and noble; yet the base senate, after his death, hesitated in approving his administration.

A. D. 138. After the death of his beloved Ælius Verus, he adopted the gentle Antoninus, who does not appear to have equalled him in fervor of genius, but who obtained renown by his simple and beneficent virtues. The latter was revered as a venerable and indulgent father, and was chosen with confidence by neighboring nations as the arbiter of their disputes; after a tranquil and blameless reign of twenty-three years, he performed his most meritorious act in bequeathing the empire of Rome to an accomplished philosopher, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus. A. D. 161.

All these emperors seemed to possess the throne as being the best and wisest of the citizens; an indefatigable diligence, a salutary care of the duties of government, was the only thing that distinguished them; there was nothing remarkable in their private enjoyments, except that they had it in their power to diffuse more happiness around them. They were more easy of access than patricians oftentimes have been in republican states. Hadrian even allowed familiar jokes to his friends, as he possessed wit enough for ready and excellent replies, and the law against treason fell into oblivion. During a time of scarcity, stones were thrown at the good Antoninus as he passed through the forum; he stood still, explained the occasion of the evil and the measures of relief which he had adopted. Never did so

great a portion of the human race enjoy a longer period of prosperity than under the reigns of these princes, which consoled them for the loss of the republic.

The only exception that can be made against them is that they neglected to provide for posterity by introducing a stable and well-regulated constitution.

Marcus Aurelius, who in the closet investigated the principles of morals, in the field of war defeated the Germans, who, for the first time since the days of Marius, had combined in a formidable conspiracy, had passed their boundaries, and were approaching Italy; and he showed the Parthians that a long peace had not enervated the legions. With these exceptions, the military strength of Rome, which had flourished in times of greater necessity and amidst commotions, seems to have decayed under these good sovereigns. The defect was not remarked so long as the empire under such rulers had little need of great commanders; but it was afterwards found destitute. We might be tempted to believe that the Stoical silence of the passions leaves, indeed, to reason her due supremacy; but that in order to form a character strong, and at the same time sufficiently flexible under the variety of conditions presented by human life, more of genius is required than falls to the lot of contemplative minds. It was a work almost beyond the power of man to give the Roman mind an entirely new stamp, and to impart to all the nations of the Roman world that unity of character so necessary for the maintenance of the common good. Accordingly, the barbarians, in the sequel, found on one side a neglect of morals, and on the other an enervated and impotent virtue.

The Stoics would have done better if they had endeavored to direct the passions rather than to abolish them. Stagnation is death, and it was because the colossal empire of Rome had no longer a soul that it began to suffer dissolution. While the Stoic morality delivered precepts which are too elevated for the greater part of mankind, it gave rise on the one side to much hypocrisy, and on the other caused many persons to doubt altogether the possibility of a virtue which required so much purity. These philosophers were too coldly metaphysical; they diffused rather a

serene light, than a fire which burns up and destroys the germ of guilt.

While the public good seemed ever to become more and more the care of a single individual; while these good emperors moved the whole mass by the simple impulse of their minds, military discipline declined. This decay was not conspicuous under Marcus Aurelius, whom the armies revered, but it displayed itself after his reign to the common misfortune. Trajan had employed the soldiery because their idleness appeared eminently dangerous for him and for the state, and because his enlightened judgment did not fail to perceive, through the glare of outward splendor, the inevitable weakness of universal empire; he felt how necessary it was ever to maintain among the neighboring nations a new impression of terror before the arms of the legions. Hadrian, who bore the same relation to him which Augustus held to Julius, affected to hold nothing as justifiable in which he could not rival his predecessor. He probably possessed more inclination for the details of tactics than ability for great plans of warfare. At the same time the boundaries were secured—a task like that which Alexander seems to have attempted in Caucasus as far as Derbent; Trajan had drawn a long fortification, of which traces are yet discoverable, from Peterwaradyn to the Don. Hadrian erected a wall with many towers along the boundaries of Germany; Antoninus, between Britain and Caledonia. Such works were effective in affording protection against sudden accidents; but the living wall, the legions, depended too much on such defence, and it seemed impossible that the barbarians could still be formidable.

The writers of those times no longer rise to the elevation of the ancients, and the flight of the Stoical philosophy does not appear so natural. We remark a difference like that which distinguishes the fruits which an excellent soil brings forth in the full bloom of their beauty and vigor, from those which are forced by artificial means. We do not fail to perceive the impression of the good and sensible Plutarch, who was very worthy of having a Trajan for his pupil; but the great soul which lives in his writings is that of the heroes he describes, and of the ancient time from

which he drew his materials and resources. The finest original writer of this period is Lucian, who laughed at human folly wherever he found it, in temples, in schools, among the learned or the great. None of the ancients had the faculty which he possessed of discerning in all things the ridiculous and the incongruous, and of representing it with such fascinating simplicity that we are unwilling to read any thing that may be advanced by way of defence.

SECTION VI.

ALTERNATION OF CALAMITOUS TIMES WITH PERIODS OF GREATER TRANQUILLITY, FROM A. D. 180 TO 285.

As long as the soul of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, the philosopher, ever equal to itself and competent to provide for all contingencies, lived among mortals, without seeming to partake in their weaknesses or crimes, it was sufficient for the empire, and it was not remarked how much depended upon it alone. When Marcus Aurelius, as the nations believed, ascended to the gods, (A. D. 180) and his son Commodus succeeded him on the throne, an universal relaxation was quickly experienced. Virtuous men were dreaded because Commodus was wholly unlike them; he put to death Salvius Julianus, the greatest of the Roman lawyers, whom his father honored. He lived in the most abject depravity; his inclinations were those of a thoughtless youth who seeks his glory in mock fights. Commodus had nothing to fear from the prætorians; he allowed them every license; they were his protection against the rest of mankind; but when he became the tyrant of his own household, his domestics put him to death. A. D. 193.

The præfect of the city, Helvius Pertinax, was raised to the throne by the perpetrators of this act, who wished to justify themselves to the world. He was an upright man, and was murdered in a short time by the soldiery, who were afraid of the ancient virtue and discipline.

When virtue could no longer maintain itself by its own influence, the memory of that discovery which the army

had made after Nero's death, of their own power over the throne, revived. The prætorian guard delivered the sceptre of the world to him who could give the greatest price; the purchaser was Didius, a rich senator, nephew of the above-mentioned Salvius Julianus, a vain old man, who was persuaded to this act by his wife and by flatterers, and who obtained by his folly a speedy death.

A. D. 194. The legions disdaining to receive a master from the prætorian guard, raised Pescennius Niger in Asia, Clodius Albinus in Britain, and Severus in Pannonia or Hungary, to the purple. Severus had skill enough to prevent his rivals from combining against him, and accordingly conquered them both in turn. A. D. 198. He was an able warrior; he possessed science, experience, and an activity which was not subdued by the tortures which he suffered from a distemper in his feet. He was not a Trajan, but was an useful chief in the evil times in which he lived, to mitigate and retard the progress of public ruin. He wanted courage or power to reduce the soldiery again to subordination, but sought to acquire their favor, and to retain the empire for his sons.

A. D. 211. One of the latter, Bassianus Caracalla, freed himself by assassinations from the joint rule of the gentle Geta, and from the troublesome reproaches of those who would not justify fratricide. A. D. 212. He afterwards carried on war on the Rhine and on the Euphrates; he was perpetually in action; in pleasures, in enterprises, in the imitation of Alexander the Great, he sought to forget himself. Caracalla was fierce and valiant; he inspired awe; the citizens trembled at his thirst of blood, and the enemy at his impetuosity. The army loved him because he esteemed only the soldier.

A. D. 217. Macrinus, captain of the guard, whom he had treated ungraciously, murdered Caracalla. But Macrinus had none of those qualities which secure to an individual the command over nations. He was put to death in the name of a youth, who was said to be the child of Caracalla, and his son, the amiable Diadumenianus, scarcely eighteen years of age, fell together with his father. A. D. 218.

Heliogabalus was the name of the youth who ascended

the throne, and of whom nothing more characteristic can be said, than that before his eighteenth year he had exhausted all the resources of pleasure, and that, ignorant as he was of every other pursuit, the violent death which he suffered came not too early for him. A. D. 222. So little did he consult appearances, so devoid was he of good qualities to claim indulgence for his faults, that the prætorian guard in him abhorred even their own vices.

His kinsman, the young Alexander Severus, by a spotless life, merited a sceptre, which he spared himself no exertion to wield without reproach. He was amiable, industrious, and loved the society of wise men. Whatever laudable principle had been delivered to mankind or to princes by the sages of all nations, from Orpheus to the founder of the Christian name, whom he revered as a great teacher of morality, was the object of his unremitting study. While he lived as a man without reproach, as a monarch he fought courageously against the independent hordes of Germany, and against the house of the Sassanidæ, who had subverted the Parthian dynasty in Persia, and renewed the antiquated claims to the sovereignty of Western Asia. But the most necessary of his good qualities was ruinous to him; he attempted to restore discipline in the army, and was consequently murdered by his own soldiers, in the vicinity of Mentz. A. D. 235.

SECTION VII.

TUMULTUOUS PERIOD FROM A. D. 235 TO 284.

Maximinus, a Goth of gigantic stature, famed for his bodily strength, his gluttony and courage, a man of the roughest manners, who knew not how to govern himself or to control any movement of passion, who hated Rome, the senate, and all forms of government and civilized society, was elected emperor by the soldiers. He was unable to disguise his nature, and in a short time Gordian, a respectable senator, of noble family, great riches, and benevolent character, together with his son, a youth full of

vigor and genius, was set up in opposition to him. A. D. 236. Scarcely had the senate ventured to acknowledge them when the younger Gordian fell in battle, and his father shortened, by voluntary death, his childless old age. Maximinus approached Rome, and the extremity of danger inspired the senate with courage. They nominated Balbinus and Pupienus, the former to direct internal affairs, the other to defend the state. No battle however ensued, for the acts of cruelty which Maximin, enraged against his opponent, allowed himself to perpetrate, provoked the army to murder him, together with his son; yet the soldiers could not prevail so far over themselves as to acknowledge the emperors whom the senate had named. A. D. 238. New wars were to be dreaded, when the third Gordian, a hopeful youth, united all parties. The young emperor had a heart formed for virtue; he was fighting courageously against the Persians, when Philip, an Arab, the traitorous captain of his guard, put him to death in the midst of a seditious tumult, excited by himself. A. D. 244. Gratitude erected a monument to the meritorious labors of his rising age, and in the one thousandth year from the building of Rome, an Arab seated himself upon the throne of the Cæsars. A. D. 247.

Philip was soon punished for the crime committed against the excellent Gordian; and his successor Decius gave no small promise of being to the Romans a second Trajan. A. D. 249. But an attempt to bring back the manners of old times did not succeed; he was unable to change the temper of his age. Decius, a prince full of honesty, a man of great mind, fell, after fighting victoriously, in the war of his country against the invading Goths. A. D. 251.

Little else can be said of Gallus, Volusianus, Hostilianus, and Æmilianus, but that in two years they found their way to the throne, and to a speedy death.

A. D. 253. Valerianus would have left behind him a better memory if he had never been made emperor. As a censor he was considered a man of virtuous conduct and good parts; but when he became ruler it was manifest that a grave deportment had concealed incapacity, and even

sluggishness. He was defeated by Shapur, king of Persia, and bore the contumelies which the barbarian inflicted upon him, not knowing, though an emperor, how to imitate the example of Cato. A. D. 259.

His son Gallienus enjoyed the dominion, which, if it had not fallen to him, he never would have sought, and which an effeminate voluptuary only valued for the sake of enjoyment. There arose in Britain, Spain, Gaul, Rhætia, Illyrium, Asia, Africa, and even in Italy, a number of usurping chiefs, some of whom were persons of merit, others mere warriors. The hordes that were penetrating into Asia, Greece, Italy, and Sicily, required every where the presence of an emperor. Gallienus, content as long as Italy, which was enough for him, remained undisturbed, entrusted the empire to its fate, till Aureolus, in Milan, roused him by fear out of his voluptuous repose. Before he could take that city he was assassinated, and his love songs alone survived him. A. D. 268. At the point of death he recommended the most worthy citizen as his successor.

The latter was Claudius, who delivered Italy from the Goths, in a battle that may be compared with that of Marius.

A. D. 270. After his death, which soon ensued, Aurelianus, a man educated in military life, obtained the throne, which stood in need of his vigor and activity. Huts and encampments were the latest, as they had been the earliest, asylums of merit. The senators were unhappily exempted from military service. Aurelian reduced all things to order and tranquillity; he repelled the barbarians, and penetrated into the forests of Germany. After he had conquered all the usurping chiefs, the good fortune which the Palmyrene Zenobia deserved to have secured unchangeably, yielded to Aurelian. He performed three things, which a conqueror alone could have dared to attempt: he was the first monarch who abandoned a province of the empire; for he gave up Dacia, on the northern side of the Danube, preferring, as it would seem, the natural boundaries; secondly, he surrounded Rome with a wall, for he reflected on the vicissitudes of fortune in war, and held it not to be superfluous to provide for the security of the seat of

empire; what the Dictator Julius had not dared, what in Caligula had offended every one, as an open mark that the shade of the republic, yet hovering over Rome, was about to vanish for ever, Aurelian performed; he surrounded his head with the regal diadem. But he never lost a battle; he treated the conquered with clemency, and he deserved the favor of the people and army. He hated the senate, and was the object of their fear.

As a fire, which expires for want of nourishment, throws out a little flame before it is finally extinguished, so it happened, that after the murder of Aurelian, an emperor was once more chosen by the senate with the consent of the army. A. D. 275. Tacitus, an old senator of the house of the historian, reigned meritoriously for a few months.

A. D. 276. After his death, his brother Florianus, unlike him in character, possessing neither the respect of the army nor the voice of the senate, the soldiers raised to the throne Probus, a skilful general, who again complimented the senate by asking their approval. He delivered Gaul and Pannonia from the barbarians. With the virtues of Aurelian, Probus combined modesty and gentleness. This excellent chief seems to have been too much attached to regular discipline to please the soldiery, for he was murdered, and speedily lamented. A. D. 282.

It appears that his successor, Carus, neglected to show respect to the senate; he was a good general, and only too indulgent a father: his son Carinus, to whom he confided the government of the West, conducted himself in every respect as he was prompted by the love of pleasure, in which he exceeded all bounds. Numerian, his elder son, had a better and more cultivated mind, yet their career was very short; the father fell, struck by lightning (if this account was not feigned in order to conceal assassination). Numerian fell a sacrifice to an ambitious youth, who by a speedy death, paid the forfeit of his crime. A. D. 284. Carinus was killed by the husband of a woman whom he had debauched.

The succeeding emperor, Diocletian, changed the form of government; henceforward its genius, the character of its magistrates, the seat of empire, the religion of the

state, became different. As we are now arrived at the transition of the ancient world into the middle ages, an account of the condition of the former will here find an appropriate place.

BOOK VIII.

SURVEY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE BEFORE THE INVASION OF THE BARBARIANS AND THE INNOVATIONS IN ITS INTERNAL CONSTITUTION.

SECTION I.

STATE OF AFRICA.

On the boundaries of the Roman empire, towards the interior of Africa, several nomadic tribes roamed through the wilderness and maintained their independence. The warriors of the commonwealth had held the task of extirpating, or of reducing them to settled habitations, and of preserving a dominion over them, to be unworthy of the arms of Rome. The Blemmyes, of whose existence the world had hitherto scarcely any correct knowledge, now became dangerous neighbors to Egypt; and in order to keep them at a distance, it was found expedient to yield possession of the desert to a Nubian horde. The latter accordingly entered into a league with the Romans. These nomadic tribes seem to have risen to numbers and power in consequence of the fall of several old Carthaginian towns.

Caius Caligula had reduced both the Mauritanias to the condition of provinces, after destroying Ptolemy, whose father, Juba, the chieftain of the country, was a celebrated author. Suetonius Paulinus passed over the mountains of Atlas, but the barbarians in that country which we call Marocco, were never conquered. The fruitful fields of

Mauritania and Numidia afforded such exuberant harvests of corn, that they eclipsed the fame of Sicily. In some situations, the ground multiplied the seed two hundred and forty times.

The Romans, who had never been a commercial people, had none of that narrow policy which sought to monopolize in one town the united products of a whole region. A number of flourishing cities decorated the coasts of Africa. Saleh, Bugie, Melille, and Tangier, refer their origin to this remote era.

Carthage, restored by Augustus, was an extensive and regularly built city; it became opulent, was the abode of pleasure, and the central point of commercial intercourse. Here the Africans were entertained, as the Europeans were at Rome, with public games.

Mauritania contained more numerous towns, but those of Numidia were the most extensive and populous. The slave-trade was even then in activity, and the cities displayed the effects of industry. This country was capable of becoming formidable, for its produce was exuberant, and its inhabitants, like other natives of hot climates, were content with a sparing sustenance; but no common chief, no principle of confederation, united the divided power of the Africans; the manners of the Romans obtained prevalence on the coast, and the rude simplicity of barbarians gave way, as usual, to the allurements of cultivation.

The path of commercial intercourse descended from Catabathmos into Egypt, a country equally rich in the necessaries of life and in its most refined luxuries, and which furnished to Rome as great a revenue as all Gaul. Oil was the only product that was wanting to it, and this was afforded by the neighboring provinces of Africa. Alexandria, the capital of Egypt, and one of the chief cities of the empire, was the depository of an extensive commerce; the countless multitudes who dwelt within its walls (for the sanguinary resentment of Caracalla had but a short-lived effect) were often excited to turbulent commotions; but their desultory movements were little to be feared, for the Alexandrians were the slaves of effeminate luxury.

Of the mysterious sciences of ancient Egypt, the arts of

the juggler and the wonders of the magical impostor alone survived, by means of which crafty performers accumulated wealth at the public cost. Magical arts, since the time of Nero, had become a favorite employment, and often allured the debauched inhabitants of Rome to seek intercourse with higher and invisible beings. We perceive in the works of Pliny how zealously Nero labored in such pursuits; and Jamblichus displays to our view the magnificent machinery of the magicians of those days. The inclination which prevails among the Oriental people for a tranquil and contemplative life, had multiplied, at an early period, the abodes of eremites in the Egyptian deserts, and cloisters arose before there were Christians to inhabit them. These became the first schools of the mystical philosophy, which was, in reality, only a refined system of magic.

SECTION II.

SYRIA.

Syria was very populous, opulent, and full of great cities. Gaza, at the entrance of Egypt, and its havens, Majama and Ascalon, were greatly celebrated. Ælia, on the site of the old Jerusalem, the approach of which was forbidden to the Jews, rose again by degrees to a respectable extent, and the memory of its gardens of balsam supported the fame of Jericho. The trade in Tyrian purple was carried on in a flourishing manner from the port of Lydda. All the arts which depended on acuteness and dexterity flourished in Syria; the theatrical actors, the performers for the orchestra, and the rope-dancers of Gaza, Ascalon, Cæsarea, Tyre, Berytus, and Heliopolis, excelled all others in the world; in many of the cities, there were excellent manufactories of linen; Ascalon and Gaza enjoyed a profitable export of wine, and the most beautiful damsels of the East were seen in the temple of Venus at Heliopolis. The sciences also were cultivated, and at Berytus there was a much-frequented school of jurisprudence. The pomp and opulence of Tyre and Sidon still recalled their former

celebrity, and Antioch was advancing to be one of the most splendid cities in the world; Laodicea, the nursery of excellent horsemen, rivalled the fame of Antioch; and next to it Assamea and Edessa held the most distinguished place.

In the midst of a valley, open to the southward, at the distance of a day's journey from the Euphrates, and among groves of palm trees, watered by limpid streams, Solomon, the king of Judah, had built Tadmor, in the wilderness: it was called by the Greeks Palmyra, and became, by its situation, almost independent, though its principal citizens acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome. Odenathus, and his consort Zenobia, made Palmyra the capital of a kingdom: they reigned over Syria and Mesopotamia, and rendered themselves formidable to the Persian monarch, while Firmus, their ally, had acquired possession of Egypt. The sciences and the fine arts made Palmyra their favorite abode. The emperor Aurelian conquered the princess Zenobia, but displayed his clemency towards the people of Palmyra. The latter, unaccustomed to submission, made a premature attempt against the weak garrison which he had perhaps left among them as a test of their fidelity; and the consequences of this revolt involved the ruin of their magnificent town. Its huge walls yet stand in ruins, and the situation of the place still renders it important.

Already the Saracens, or inhabitants of the Arabian desert, fought among the allies, or as adversaries of the legions. Mesopotamia was enriched by the caravans of Indian and Arabian commerce, which traversed the wilderness from the bottom of the Persian gulf. Brass and iron were the only articles of which the exportation was forbidden. Towards the borders of Persia, Nisibis was the most important of the frontier towns.

SECTION III.

ASIA MINOR.

Already, in the age of Augustus, many ancient cities of Lesser Asia had been destroyed by wars and other calam-

ities. In Cilicia, the citizens of Tarsus were celebrated for their genius; the countrymen of the apostle Paul were devoted to metaphysics; they were distinguished in the dialectic art, and for the rhapsodies of *improvisatori*, and there were many who wandered through the empire and established schools. In the neighboring Pompeiopolis, the descendants of the confederate pirates now dwelt as peaceable inhabitants. The fruitful Pamphylia sent the produce of its fields down the river Melas. The valiant Isauri maintained in the mountains their barbarous freedom, and sometimes descended to ravage the vineyards of Cilicia, and the olive gardens of Pamphylia. Lycia was a nursery of good seamen; Cyprus and Rhodes, from the days of their ancient prosperity, still retained their excellent soil, of which no tyrant had been able to rob them; and their voluptuous pleasures, the indulgence in which rendered them insensible to all higher enjoyments. Cnidus and Halicarnassus still displayed in their splendid ruins what they had once been.

The cities of Ionia and Æolia were distinguished by the works of ancient art and by their great population, and they were enriched by the commerce of the inland country, nothing was wanting to their glory but the strength and valor that were needful in order to resist the incursions of those barbarians who in the third century destroyed the renowned temple of Diana, and sacked many towns which never more raised themselves from their ashes. Nicæa was an extensive city, regularly and beautifully built; noble relics yet existed of the ancient splendor of Cyzicus; and Nicomedia, the residence of Diocletian, had risen to the rank of the most celebrated cities. Cios received the produce of all Phrygia. Alexandria, founded by the hero of Macedon, not far from the site of ancient Troy, flourished in great opulence in the midst of fertile plains and in the vicinity of the woody Ida. Its situation on the shore of the Hellespont rendered it in every respect a rival of Byzantium; for those who travelled from the east were by this passage spared the storms of the Bosphorus; and the neighboring sea was adorned with islands which were fitted to contain the gardens of a seraglio. Sardos, Ancyra, Cæsarea, Sinope, Amisus, were great and opulent capitals of flourish-

ing provinces. The region of Phrygia, arid, as its name imports, produced no green tree, but was fertile in vineyards. Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and Pontus were famed for excellent soldiers; Galatia furnished warriors and breadcorn, and Cappadocia horses: both of them produced raiment, while Armenia was famed for bowmen. The greatness and magnificence of so many towns, so thickly sown, afford a splendid idea of the power and opulence which Lesser Asia is capable of attaining.

The passage of the Euxine required ships built for the purpose, and an accurate knowledge of the many shallows and hidden rocks: this sea was always tempestuous, often covered with fogs, and furnished with few secure anchorages. Already it was difficult to land at the inhospitable Salmydessus, so extensively had the Danube filled its seven mouths with sand; already it was impossible for a large ship to run into Sinope; and, as Polybius had foretold, the navigation of the whole of this sea became every day more arduous. The Tauric peninsula opened the safest havens, and in the dock-yards of Panticapæum the vessels best fitted for voyages on the Euxine were constructed of timber which floated down the Don and Dnieper. At Cimmeris, the Palus Mæotis afforded a serviceable harbor. Commerce was carried on with the productions of Scythia: and the merchants sailed far up the Dnieper, whose banks, as well as those of the Tyras, the Hypanis, and the Danube, subject to frequent inundations, were covered with rich meadows or luxuriant woods.

SECTION IV.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE SOUTHERN AND EASTERN COUNTRIES.

Such were the provinces of the empire towards the south and east. The people who occupied these regions had become little changed in consequence of the Roman sway; while the Romans, who dwelt among them, by the powerful influence of the soil and climate, were assimilated in charac-

ter to the native inhabitants. The human figure possessed in these countries an extraordinary degree of beauty, with a peculiar dignity and eloquent expression of countenance, and with a vivacity of feeling which was not so much displayed in gestures as in energy of action and in constancy and perseverance in exertions. Nature here developes the growth of the body to its fullness of vigor and beauty, and even in the brute creation exhibits greater powers of life than in other climates.

In Africa, man, like the lion which wanders through the same burning desert, as if hardened by the solar beams, possesses an uncommon degree of activity and muscular strength. The sublime beauty and the elevated sentiment of the Oriental people were here more rarely to be found; yet the nomadic tribes approximated to this character; and on the other hand, the commercial spirit and political circumstances of the cities on the coasts seem to have imparted to the people who dwelt in them that effeminate depravity and dissimulation for which they were remarked.

The Persians were the most formidable enemies of the eastern provinces. Artasher, called by the Greeks Artaxerxes, sprung, as he pretended, from the house of the old Caianian monarchs; and a son of one of those princes who, under the dominion of the Parthians, had always maintained in Farsist'han the name of a Persian kingdom, possessed courage and talents which enabled him to overthrow the government of the Parthians, and to restore the empire to the native people. He also re-established the ancient faith of Zerdusht or Zoroaster, which, like that of the Indians, Chinese, and Hebrews, exhibits a figurative representation of the origin of things, of the most ancient revolutions of the world, and of the human race; and, in addition to this, sets forth the general principles of morality with a particular reference to Persia: it ordains the veneration of light as the only imaginable emblem of God, and as the instrument of the life of nature: and in the contest of good and evil, discovers the secret of happiness in the victory over our senses; it confides to the priesthood the guidance of the actions and opinions of the multitude, and speaks in such terms of the end of all forms of sensual being, as may teach men to

raise their thoughts above the visible creation to the celestial throne of Ormuzhd.

Artaxerxes and his son Shapor carried on vigorous wars against the Roman empire in western Asia. The last stem of the Parthian dynasty held out for some centuries in Armenia under the protection of Rome. Often from these mountains the plains of Assyria and Babylonia were overrun, and as often Syria felt the oppressive arms of the Persians; but Galerius, who had been declared Cæsar by Diocletian, obliged King Narses to conclude a peace which lasted forty years, and secured to the Romans the possession of Osrhoëne and of Nisibis.

In general the Persians had it in their power to inflict evils on western Asia, but it was not so easy for them to establish their dominion over it: extensive wastes and mountainous tracts formed a bulwark around it, and deserts of smaller extent, but destitute of water, divided the provinces of their own kingdom. To retain the latter in subjection required the greater vigilance, as the nature of the country favored the revolts of the provincial governors, who immediately received protection from the Romans. Towards the sea, Persia had nothing to fear: along the whole coast, which was inhabited by wandering tribes of barbarians, there is not one secure haven from the gulf of Ormuz to the confines of India; above this a district of pasture land is succeeded by plains bearing abundant harvests of corn: another tract of mountainous country lies beyond, the passes through which are easily defended. The Persian king commonly maintained treaties of alliance with the Indian princes of the Punjab, which was the warlike country of the ancient Porus.

SECTION V.

EUROPE.

From the Black Sea to the Adriatic, a chain of mountains extends under various names, the most considerable part of which has the appellation of Mount Hæmus: in its

extreme branches it almost touches the Alps, which by the chain of the Cevennes approach the eastern confines of the Pyrenees. Southern Europe, including the countries which lie to the southward of this great ridge, viz. Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, Illyrium, Italy, and Spain, constituted the chief extent of the Roman empire: the northern division of it comprised Gaul, bounded by the Rhine, some districts of Germany, Rhœtia, Noricum, Pannonia, the hither Dacia, and Britain, cut off from the world. On the former of these regions indulgent nature had bestowed her finest gifts; the second, especially the last-named provinces, were the bulwark of the empire; and the strength of the legions consisted chiefly in the levies which were drawn from them.

Thrace was thickly peopled by warlike tribes, but not so well cultivated; agriculture has since increased in this country, facilitated, as it appears, by the destruction of a part of the northern forests. At the same time Heraclea Perinthus became the chief town of Thrace, for after the severe vengeance which Severus inflicted on the people of Byzantium for their heroic fidelity to Pescennius Niger, this city had risen but slowly to opulence. In some districts the Getæ lived among the Thracians, a valiant people, elevated to heroism by the belief in an immortal life; who, if they originally belonged to the race of the Goths, seem to have had no longer any connection with that people.*

The Macedonians continued ever to be excellent soldiers, and they still used the long spears of their ancestors: iron and lead were dug from their mines, and their mountains were covered with numerous flocks; the greatness of Thessalonica raised it above all the other cities of Macedonia, and it acknowledged few rivals in the world. From several other ports there was an exportation of cheese and salted

* The Getæ were certainly of the same race with the Thracian tribes. This appears from numerous passages in the Greek writers, but especially from the assertion of Herodotus. Menander mentions the Getæ as a Thracian people.

All the Greek and Roman writers considered the Goths and Getæ as the same people, but some modern geographers have maintained that the Goths were of Scandinavian origin, particularly D'Anville and Cluver. T.

flesh, which the Dardans and other pastoral people brought down from their mountains.

During the same ages, Athens was the chief seat of science and philosophy: she had derived new embellishments from the rich and learned Herodes Atticus, and the prodigious work of Pericles, the temple of Minerva, was completed by the order of Hadrian. In the middle of the third century, this city was plundered by the Goths, yet the master-pieces of ancient architecture remained, which it required too great labor to destroy. The statues and pictures of the best masters had been conveyed by Nero to Italy. The culture of the sciences and a predilection for the religion of Homer were retained by the Athenians as late as the sixth century.

Under the government of the Romans, Thebes, Athens, Megara, and a part of Ætolia, were included under the name of the Achæan republic; but of many cities only ruins now existed. Except Sicily, Greece had suffered greater losses than any other country since the extension of the Roman power.

Dalmatia rose from a state of barbarism, and was enriched by an extensive traffic in cattle, timber, and iron; considerable towns flourished on the coast, and the palace and gardens of Diocletian, in the vicinity of the present Spalatro, soon rendered Salona one of the most beautiful places in the world: its ruins still attest its ancient magnificence, and prove that the principles of taste were not yet lost in the general anarchy.

To celebrate the praise of Italy after Virgil and Pliny, would be a vain attempt. Nature seemed to have destined this country to become the seat of universal empire: its coasts, which open an easy communication with all parts of the world, give it great advantages for upholding its dominion, while the sea and the Alps are the bulwark of its security. The enterprises of policy and of commerce were facilitated by the havens of Ostia, Ravenna, and Misenum. A grateful variety in the climate and temperature, the consequence of diversity in local situation, favored the production and growth of all the plants and animals which contribute to the support and pleasure of life; the long

ridge of the Apennine gave to every district the advantages both of hilly and level countries, and the rivers facilitated exportation, which was shortened by the narrow form of the land. Situated nearly in the midst of the civilized world, Italy was enabled to watch over all the nations who inhabited it, and to anticipate the dangers which arose from sudden movements. Several towns contended for the honor of the imperial residence: palaces, worthy of the monarch, existed at Milan and Ravenna as well as at Rome; and Aquileia, by its opulence, attracted the barbarians, and by its strength served as a bulwark against their inroads. In the course of a long peace the Ligurians had descended from their wild mountains, and had cultivated the coasts which extend toward the west and east from the city of Genoa. The emperors rivalled each other in ennobling Ancona, Ariminum, and other towns on the shores of the Adriatic. On the lower coast of Italy, Campania, since Vesuvius had become a burning mountain, seemed to be more fertile than before: the exuberant soil of Capua, Nola, and Neapolis, afforded some consolation for the loss of the cities that lay buried under ashes and lava, and the islands were ornamented with palaces and pleasure-houses. In Sicily, excellent wines, iron, wool, and cattle, were the chief articles of exportation; the beauty of the animals which that island produced, caused the games at Syracuse and Catania to become equally celebrated with those of Rome. Since Egypt and Africa supplied enough corn and of better quality, the fields of Sicily had been converted into pasturage, the produce of which must have been more certain, more diversified, and in the neighborhood of Rome more profitable. Corsica was celebrated for honey and oysters. Sardinia contained flourishing towns, though the interior of the country was not civilized.

Spain furnished the empire with brave warriors, with brass, iron, gold, silver, and horses; in the less fertile parts of the country, flax and spartum* were cultivated. Many profound philosophers and poets of bold and lofty genius were natives of Spain: the mechanical arts flourished

* A kind of broom used for making cables, &c.

without degrading the high spirit of the nation. After the fall of Carthage the commerce of Cadiz declined, and the ancient rites of the temple of Hercules were now the chief glory of the place; the navigation of the ocean was seldom attempted. On the eastern coast, and towards the mountains, Barcino or Barcelona, and Cæsar Augusta, now Zaragoza, arose to opulence; and notwithstanding its many calamities, Tarraco, formerly the capital of a large province, contended with these cities for pre-eminence.

All these countries surrounded the Mediterranean sea, the navigation of which was best known; for it was seldom that men ventured far into the immeasurable ocean. From Aradus to the Baleares a multitude of very populous islands were subject to the imperial sway; among which were Cyprus, with its nine kingdoms, and Rhodes, formerly great in naval power, which, together with Eubœa, was the key of the Grecian sea and continent; the Cyclades, the seat of the power of Minos, over which Athens had erected her sovereignty; Sicily the object of strife between tyrants and powerful nations; the Liburnian isles, multitudinous, and celebrated for able seamen; and the Baleares, the slingers of which had fought in the Carthaginian armies against the legions. In the ocean, Britain belonged to Rome: the Orcades were visited: the extreme Thule was known to fame, and projects were formed for acquiring possession of Ireland, the country of the Scoti, an island necessary for those who would maintain their dominion over Britain. The climate and soil of Ireland were supposed to be excellent, but the inhabitants were represented as the most inhuman barbarians in the world; for Ossian was not intelligible to Roman ears. A few ventured farther, and sailed to Thule, (or Iceland?) for the appearances of nature were here frightful; a dread of the secret places of the gods arrested the progress of the trembling navigator; he beheld, with amazement, such gulfs as the Maelstrom, into which it was believed that the ocean sunk at the ebbing of the tide, in order to rush forth at the succeeding flood; or, perhaps, as the earth was supposed to be an immense animal, when the monster again breathed! Yet those who searched into the nature of things sought, even at that time, the ob-

scure cause of the ebbing and flowing of the tide in the influence of the moon. Britain, for the rest, was chiefly pasture land; there was a pearl-fishery on the coast; London was the centre of the little commerce that existed, and York afforded no mean residence to many emperors who had occasion to halt on this frontier. Civilized manners caused the barbarous freedom of the Britons to sink into oblivion; Agricola had pronounced this to be the only means of subduing them. Even at that era fleets cruized in the channel, or were stationed off the Isle of Wight; and more than once the fate of Britain depended on prosperous or adverse gales.

The greater part of Gaul was well cultivated, yet enough woods remained to supply timber for building houses and for ships. The southern provinces enjoyed the most fertile soil and the most pleasant climate. The atrocious sacrifices of the Druids, who held that shedding the blood of men was the only means of reconciling the gods to the human race, had long been abolished, but the order of priesthood still survived. For the rest, the arts of peace too much predominated; Marseilles and Autun had excellent schools of learning, and the Gauls, as Mela mentions, possessed their own style of eloquence. Narbonne was the chief city of the southern provinces: how flourishing would it have become if the nature of the tempestuous sea had allowed a few more secure havens on the coast! Farther in the interior was Lugdunum, or Lyons, where all the military roads of Gaul joined, and where the whole country celebrated a solemn festival at the temple of Augustus. All the borders of the Rhine were included in Belgic Gaul, until Helvetia and Sequania were divided from it under the name of the great province of the Saone, and the country now called Alsace, extending towards Mentz, was comprehended in the district of Germania Prima. The northern part of Belgic Gaul seems to have suffered more severely than the other provinces, because its people, on account of the love of freedom which animated them, were more dangerous to Rome. There were wooden cities, scarcely worthy of that name, situated in the midst of marshes, such as Paris and Tongres, which were never

visited for the sake of their attractions; but Treves was a rich and splendid town. At the era of the first movements among the northern nations, the chief departments of Gaul were the province of Narbonne, containing two subdivisions; Aquitania with an equal number; the Lyonese with four, and Gallia Belgica with two.

The modern Switzerland, with its dependencies, belonged to the greater province of the Saone, to the first Germany, and to the Lyonese departments, which derived their names from Vienne, from the Pennine and the Graiæ, or Hoary Alps. Four chief towns, Aventicum, or Avenche, Noviodunum, or Nion, Augusta of the Rauraci, now Aouste near Basil, and Besontio, or Besançon, were their ornaments and defence; the old Aventicum was a beautiful and extensive city, and the seat of luxury of every kind; the other towns served as bulwarks against the incursions of barbarians. Vindonissa or Windisch, Rauricum, where Basil is now situated, Ebrodunum, or Iverdun, and Argentuaria, may be mentioned as great military stations. But Windisch, by being the seat of a strong garrison, was converted into a flourishing city; Iverdun was the residence of a particular governor, the prefect of the mariners;* and the duke, or commander of the Greater Saone, had his seat at Olino, now Holée, a town near Basil. The neighboring territory, which was that of the Rauraci, belonged to the Germania Prima. Valais was comprised in the Pennine Alps, until Rhætia, divided from Illyrium, was placed, together with the republic of the Valais, under the government of a duke or procurator, and made a particular frontier province of Italy. Geneva belonged to the province of Vienne. Already the banks of the Leman lake began to be known under the name of Sabaudia, or Savoy.

Near the *lacus Venetus*, or lake of Constance, Gaul bordered on Illyrium, so long as Rhætia was reckoned a part of the latter country. But the Rhætian people extended from the Danube to Verona, and from the sources of the Rhine to the district of the Carni.† Veldivena, or Wilten,

* Præfectus barcariorum.
† Viz. Carniola and Carinthia.

in the Tyrol, was their capital town, but Como and Bregenz rose to an equal degree of eminence. On the river Lech, Rhætia joined Vindelicia, which is now Vendenland upon the Lech, and the latter bordered upon Noricum. The barbarous * Noricum had learnt obedience: it was a land of pasturage, and its iron mines have been worked from remote times; but the local situation of this country gave it a particular importance; the warlike people of the Gabretawald, the enterprising subjects of Maroboduus, † the Quadi, Gepidi, and the Carpi in the Carpathian mountains, always required cautious observation. From the place where Vindobona formed the petty beginning of Vienna, the noble country of Pannonia drew its boundary through a part of Austria and Hungary, to Illyrium, whose capital, Sirmium, was often an imperial residence. The whole province of Illyrium, which, after the separation of Rhætia, extended from Karst over Dalmatia to the borders of Mæsia, was not only a desirable possession on account of its productions, but was important as containing a valiant people, from whom sprung the latest of the Roman heroes, Claudius, Aurelian, and Probus, who saved the empire from the Goths. Mæsia and the hither Dacia, now Bulgaria and Valachia, were beautiful districts, and had become more populous since the well-affected inhabitants of Transylvania had left that country and the falling palaces of Sarmizegethusen, and had crossed the Danube, when the Romans abandoned its northern shore.

A more noble dominion never existed than that of Rome. Situated in the midst of the most temperate regions of the earth, under the mildest sky, comprising the most fertile countries, and the most enterprising and civilized nations, how great and splendid was the dominion of Rome in the days of Trajan! As this empire had been erected, and the supreme authority over the destinies of so many nations had been intrusted to one frail mortal at so great a cost, its fall and evils which its overthrow entailed were a severe misfortune to humanity.

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* Upper Bavaria and a part of Lower and Inner Austria.
† The Macri.

SECTION VI.

OF THE BARBAROUS COUNTRIES IN THE NORTH.

The primitive manners of the human race were preserved nearest to their original simplicity in the forests of the Germans and Slavonians, nations who were destined, in the course of a few centuries, to impress a new character on half the world. In the countries which they conquered, they adopted in part the customs of the people whom they subdued, and on this mixture were founded the manners and governments of our forefathers. The system of legislation was better regulated among the Romans; but our ancestors were free and accustomed to victory, and among them good morals held the place of laws: we have derived from them the best of our institutions; the worst have been copied from the example of degenerate Rome. As the tribes who migrated from Germany did not lay aside their former manners in the same degree or at one time, so it has happened that some of them, as the Swiss and the English, have retained longer in their political constitutions the germ of original freedom, while others, from the same inheritance, have remained eminent in military virtues, and have never been entirely subdued by foreign nations.

Liberty, and all the qualities which are connected with it, may have their existence in every region: thus the Greeks and Romans were as valiant and independent as the Teutonic people; but it must be allowed, at the same time, that the concurring influence of moral causes was necessary in order to develope the principles of freedom in the former nations, and the cessation of these causes has robbed them of their ancient glory: the northern tribes only followed the impulse of their native genius, and have therefore the more easily brought down to our later times striking and important remains of the manners and customs of their forefathers. Climate is not the sole foundation of such moral phænomena, though it is one of the fundamental causes. When we consider that restless spirit which distinguished

the men of the north, we are tempted to wonder that so much remains of their ancient customs; but their restless temper seems chiefly to have referred to corporeal activity; they often changed their country, but seldom their habits and ideas. On the other hand, when they had once surrendered these, they fell into a state of perpetual vicissitude, since no foreign customs were found to be so congenial to their nature as those which they had abandoned.

In some chapters of his history of the Gallic war, Cæsar has sketched the earliest picture of ancient Germany; it is short and rich in information, according to the usual manner of the author, which renders him the most simple and instructive of all historians. Next to him, Strabo must be mentioned, whose great work is the fruit of much enlightened reading, and of extensive personal observation; but the description of the north is very much corrupted in the manuscripts of his geography, and it never formed one of the best portions of his work. Mela in his learned outline of the globe has adopted some notices concerning the German people, which are set forth with his peculiar brevity. The elder Pliny has comprised in four books his description of the earth; in these the profound learning and accurate information, which we admire in his writings, are conspicuous; his remarks on the northern nations are so much the more valuable, as he had composed a particular work on the wars of the Germans. That work is lost, but Tacitus, who was the friend of the author's family, had probably availed himself of its contents. The incomparable disquisition which Tacitus has left us on the Germans, has been regarded by some as a political romance, intended by the author to excite the shame of his countrymen, by the reflections it casts on the corruption of their domestic manners; but the customs which are still to be found among the Alpine mountains, and which are brought to light in the ancient chronicles, as well as those which have been discovered among the wild hordes of North America, established the veracity of the historian; while from the last-mentioned source we obtain a knowledge of whatever is connect with that particular stage of society in which the German people stood. Tacitus gives the Romans some keen rebukes, as also does Pliny, who always

undervalues men in order to elevate nature alone, and often, as if inspired, interrupts the course of his extracts, to raise his voice suddenly, like that of a thundering orator, and to display, by a few striking outlines, what man is capable of becoming, and how he neglects the dignity of his nature. The work of Tacitus is short: he abridged every thing, says Montesquieu, because his eye penetrated all things. Montesquieu has profited by his assistance in distinguishing the traces and influence of the Teutonic manners on all the modern governments. It was impossible to enter first on such a field without going sometimes astray; but he has opened untrodden paths, on which those may easily advance further, who would scarcely have discovered them for themselves.

SECTION VII.

ANCIENT GERMANY.

Germany formed a part of the country of the Celtæ, which originally comprised the whole west of Europe, as far as the straits of Gibraltar, but by degrees, as nations were more discriminated, came to comprehend only Gaul, and at length only that part of Gaul which is included between the Garonne and the Marne. The limits of Germany extended from the sources of the Danube to the utmost North, embracing the isles of Scandinavia, and from the Rhine to the forests and plains of Sarmatia, and the Carpathian mountains. According to some geographers it comprised the whole country westward of the Don.

The nature of the country gave rise to great diversity in the character of particular tribes. The districts on the Rhine were the best cultivated; traces of growing refinement here displayed themselves; Strasburg, Speier, Worms, but particularly Mentz and Cologne, (for the left bank of the Rhine formed a part of Germany before the time of Cæsar,) were already flourishing in commerce and manufactures. Farther in the interior, the Hercynian forest, which was estimated at the extent of a sixty days' journey,

and of which the forest of the Rhine, and the Black Forest, the Odenwald, Westerwald, Spessart, the forests of Bohemia, Thuringia, the Hartz, and many others, are the remains, took its rise from the glaciers of Adula, in whose bosom are the fountains of the Rhine, and terminated at Rugen, in order to re-appear on the farther shore of the Baltic, and occupy the whole of Finland. The northern coast consisted of marshes, subject to frequent inundations, where the natives fixed their dwellings upon spots which afforded the appearance of security. The country in general, especially between the sea-coast, and the Hercynian forest, consisted of immense heaths, which were capable, here and there, of cultivation, but were for the most part only fit for pasturage and for the chase. Beyond the sea, Sweden and Norway were chiefly forests and morasses, from which we must only except the southern provinces of the former country.

Among the German tribes, the most distinguished were the Suevi, or Swabians who were afterwards lost in the name of Allemanni, the Saxons, the Boii, Bajoari, or Bavarians, and the Franks, who were not a distinct race, but a military federation. The general appellation of the German people yet exists; Tuist or God was the father of Mannus, or mankind, and the Teutonic people, from the creative hand of God, had lived ever a pure and unadulterated race.

The Suevi were a migratory people, of simple manners, as nomadic nations always are; they were valiant because they had nothing to lose, except that life which they were destined to recover in the everlasting halls of Woden. The Allemanni were Gauls, who disdained to acknowledge a conquered land for their country. About the time when the Marcomanni passed beyond the Bohemian forests, they established themselves in Upper Germany, where they fed their flocks on fertile and extensive plains, and gave to the Romans, as the price of peace, a tribute of the tenth part of their produce: those who would not consent to these terms continued their march to the banks of the Mayne. The similarity of manners rendered their union with the Suevi so complete, that the whole nation was

henceforth called indifferently, sometimes by the name of Suevi, at others by that of Allemanni.

The confederacy of the Franks offers itself to our notice at a somewhat later period. This alliance was formed for the defence of liberty, in the remote hamlets of Westphalia and Lower Hessia, between the Dymel and the fields of the Bavarians.

We find the Saxons on the northern coast, as far as the peninsula of Jutland; they devoted themselves to a sea faring life, and, according to the ancient custom, to piracy. Afterwards they went up the Weser and the Elbe, and planted themselves in abodes which had been deserted by the former possessors for adventurous schemes of conquest.

The Bajoari, an ancient tribe, who had been formidable enemies to the Roman republic in Italy, had their chief settlement in Bohemia, until they were driven by Slavonian invaders to Noricum and Rhætia.

The north-eastern region from the Thuringian forest to the Oder and Vistula, and to the Baltic sea, was chiefly inhabited by roving hordes, who, as far as we can trace their origin, were of Slavonian race; further to the eastward dwelt tribes of Finns, whom the obscurity of their forests sheltered from the Roman yoke, as it conceals them from our investigation.

The political institutions of these nations were, for the most part, arranged on the following principles: All authority originated in the assembly of all the free-men, who elected to offices, and held all men under responsibility for their conduct. They were accustomed to meet at the new and full moon, for this planet was the first calendar. They assembled in arms; for arms were the mark of freedom: and they preferred to incur the danger of abuse rather than that any man should appear without this honorable badge. The priests presided over the assembly; for God was the only sovereign whom they all revered in common. Silence was proclaimed, and the chief, or first man, declared on what account they were summoned. The elders, to whom many years had given experience, the nobles, or those who knew by inheritance from their forefathers how to manage the affairs of the district, and what rights to up-

hold, and how advantages were to be obtained over the neighboring tribes, uttered a short, simple, and impressive speech, with real or assumed frankness of manner. Traces of these ancient customs may yet be found in our proverbs, which occasionally were adopted into the first laws: they were distinguished by a strong sense, and a combination of certain tones and words, which assist the memory, and which the refined ear of the moderns, often too fastidious, rejects as savoring of bad taste. The clashing of arms was the signal of applause, and hissing and murmuring declared the disapprobation of the assembly. The high crimes of treason, cowardice, and all other degrading misdemeanors, here underwent judgment. It was for this reason, that in later times, when kings came to represent the sovereignty of the whole nation, and had armed themselves with full authority, capital punishments were exclusively referred to them: bailiffs exercised this power as their deputies, but always in public; until, after the rise of cities, the councils, being intrusted with the same function, under various pretences rendered the exercise of it secret. The ancient Germans thought it right, by the spectacle of a public execution, to render great crimes the object of general horror, and to punish mean and depraved actions, by drowning the delinquent in their marshes. In illustrating the penal regulations of antiquity, we must often have recourse to figurative allusions. Cowardice was punished with death, in order that the fugitive might be overtaken by that evil which he was most anxious to shun, and might find it more dreadful on account of the public ignominy conjoined with it than in the field of battle. The common assembly decided also concerning complaints that were brought before them against the awards of the judicial courts.

A single chief seldom presided over several tribes, and never over the whole nation. The chief, with about a hundred companions or counts, or elders, (grauen, or grafen,) presided over the maintenance of justice in each district: each hamlet had its judicial court. A leader was elected in time of war, and was naturally intrusted with military power. It came to pass afterwards, that when the Ger-

mans entered upon their conquests, they were necessarily under the military command of their leader; and in order to preserve their acquisitions they found themselves obliged to leave the authority in his hands; thus their ancient liberty, and the form of government, which regularly reverted with the return of peace, fell by degrees into oblivion. It was equally natural, that as conquests were achieved by several tribes in alliance, they should all acknowledge one supreme leader, and that the new constitution should no longer rest, as that which had prevailed in the hamlets of Germany, on the relations of families and neighbors, but should be founded on the exigencies of war, which required a concentrated power, capable of decisive measures and rapid and effective execution: it was thus that the democracies of the Teutonic people, handed down by their forefathers, underwent a gradual transition into the governments of modern Europe.

As the chief, so the general or duke had the choice of his companions left to his discretion; but his success and reputation depended on the wisdom of his selection. For before the passions of men, inflamed by the riches and pleasures of the south, had rendered a multitude of laws necessary, and before the opposition of various parties had fixed accurate limits to the powers of each rank in the state, eminent wisdom and able counsellors gave greater authority to the leaders of the people than the kings are able to maintain in most monarchical governments. Such a leader was the soul of the nation: he became an arbiter between neighboring tribes: his regulations were imitated; and his decisions became rules of action. That noble birth gave even then a considerable advantage towards the attainment of power, depended upon the circumstance, that before the art of writing was known, family sayings constituted the only species of learning, and that where property existed, the possession of land, which was the only kind of wealth, procured dependents and extensive influence.

The religion of the ancient Germans is not well understood, because their mythology is described by foreign writers. It is generally agreed, that God was worshipped by all the tribes, in the most striking powers of nature,

or in his most beneficial agencies; in the sun, the moon; in fire, and in the earth. The Germans, without the intervention of images, which they wanted sufficient art to form, adored also in the venerable darkness of ancient groves the ghosts of departed heroes, who had deserved the eternal gratitude of their nation. Once every year, in the country of the Semnones, deputies from the tribes approached with their hands bound, as slaves of the power which presided over the awful place, the inaccessible forest of the Sun; to him they sacrificed a man, holding the belief that human crimes can only be expiated by human blood, and they retired without turning their backs on the sacred spot. In a forest in Rugen stood the car of the rural goddess: at intervals, as the priests related, she came down from her blessed abodes, and drove her chariot, on which occasions a general peace was proclaimed, and all public and private enmities had an end. It is uncertain whether in Irmensule, (or *the pillars of Herman*,) near Pallerborn, the Saxons adored the god of war, or the ghost of the great Arminius, who, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, had terrified Augustus Cæsar, and afterwards withstood the arms of the renowned Germanicus.

Young men were presented with a sword by their kinsmen, or by the chief, in the midst of the popular assembly. As soon as the young German was armed, he passed from under the paternal authority into the national jurisdiction: his person, his honor, and his property belonged henceforth to his country. Frequent feuds exercised their vigilance and courage; these were determined in the assembly of the people, in which the youth who associated himself in the enterprise was praised as a lover of arms and of renown; from such an undertaking it was impossible to retract without incurring the utmost infamy. When no occasion was found at home for such contests, men sought them in other tribes, in order that they might return covered with glory, and bearing the skull of some fallen warrior, which was afterwards ornamented, and used for drinking beer or must, on days of merry carousal. A seat at the festive board, or a gift of arms, were the only pay which a German received for his merits; but the strongest incentive was the anxiety to

be always in action, and never to become enervated by repose. This misfortune befell the Cherusci, the nation of Arminius, and it was dreaded with good reason; for a delusive peace,* as Tacitus has well said, is to be deprecated by those who dwell in the midst of nations incapable of restraining their desires, and possessed of the means of obtaining their gratification: with them justice and moderation are mere words which belong to the most powerful.

By these customs the Germans were formed for conquest. The warriors flocked after the banners of the enterprising youths who had acquired distinction. Clovis, when he founded the kingdom of France, had scarcely attained his twentieth year. Instead of rewarding his comrades with feasts and arms, he distributed estates among them: every man secured to his fellows the perpetual enjoyment of their lots or allodial shares, and the whole number collectively guaranteed the permanence of the commonwealth which was thus constituted.

The chief strength of the German armies consisted in their infantry. In Westphalia the cavalry of the Teuchteri was distinguished, among whom the bravest cavalier inherited the greatest portion, particularly the horses and stable. For infantry no tribe was more celebrated than the Hessians or Catti, who dwelt in the district of Catzen-ellenbogen, and were better trained than all others to military discipline, and to the manœuvres of regular warfare. The Hessians were not only very tall, powerful, and undaunted warriors, who intimidated their foes by their fierce and terrific aspect, but they also possessed secure military positions, and were under a more strict obedience to their leaders than any other troops. "All the Germans know how to fight," says Tacitus, "but the Catti alone are acquainted with the manner of conducting war." The shields of the commanders were distinguished by brilliant colors, the origin of coats of arms. The shield was the only defensive weapon; for it was thought sufficient that the arm should

* Idque jucundius quam tutius fuit: quia inter impotentes et validos falso quiescas; ubi manu agitur, modestia et probitas nomina superioris sunt. Tac. de M. G. c. 36.

be secured, which is able to succor every part. A few of the chiefs bore also a cuirass and helm. Among the Hessians the young men wore iron rings as a badge of servile rank until the slaughter of an enemy had proved them to be deserving of their freedom. They were accustomed to leave the beard unshaven until warlike exploits had proved their manhood: the Lombards and some other tribes suffered it always to grow, as the Athenians did in the time of Miltiades, and the Romans before the age of Scipio. Among the weapons of assault the most formidable was a dart which terminated, like a bodkin* in a sharp point, and was equally mischievous when used for thrusting or for throwing from a distance: they also carried lances. The best quality of their horses was swiftness. Before the battle a war-song was chanted by the bards, who were the singers and philosophers of the Germans: the leader was inspired with hope or fear according as the tone of the war-song was high or low. Sometimes, in order to render the sound more horrible, they held their hollow shields before their mouths. With a similar design we are informed that the Ares, by which name the Tartars distinguish the Votiacks, a race of Finns in Casan, bear black shields and armor, which excite the terror of their enemies, particularly in nightly encounters. Before the battle a single combat was often fought by compromise.

Among the Hessians, there was a company of young men who imposed an obligation on themselves to be always the foremost in battles, for which service they were maintained by the public cost. The order of battle was generally in a wedge-shaped column; by which they sought to present a narrow front to the enemy, and to penetrate his ranks. The troops were drawn up according to clans or families, and when it was possible, the wives and children of the combatants were spectators of the battle from some secure place: the mothers exulted in binding the glorious wounds which their sons had received, and the warriors found their sweetest recompense in the animated praises of their wives. How

* Tacitus says they were called "frameæ." Pfriem is the German word for a bodkin. T.

could they fail to exert themselves to the utmost, when all that they held most dear was saved or lost by the issue of the contest!

The chiefs had similar motives to exertion, inasmuch as all their power in the tribe depended on their conduct in the field; the remembrance of their exploits in war was the principal foundation of their authority during peace. Even the conqueror of Varus himself, the defender of German liberty against the conspiracy of Maroboduus, the penetrating, the heroic, the popular, and insinuating Arminius, when he attempted to usurp a greater degree of power than that which properly belonged to him in time of peace, fell like Cæsar, to whom he deserved to be compared, in his own country, and by the hands of his comrades, and his fame only survived in the songs of the warlike chiefs. It was so much the more difficult to obtain military renown among the Germans in any high degree, as this sole virtue of Barbarians was so universal: it is the sole virtue, since all their other good qualities are natural to them, and require no sacrifice; yet, hard as it was to gain, the renown of Arminius has survived a thousand less illustrious names. With what animation must those troops have been inspired, whose leader was obliged to distinguish himself as the bravest among them, while his comrades exerted their utmost power to obtain the highest name, and while each clan fought not only for the victory of the day, but for the only valuable reward before the introduction of wealth, for the pre-eminence in military fame above the other tribes; when, in addition to these motives, it was disgraceful to leave the chieftain unrevenged, and when prodigies of valor were excited by the feelings of friendship, which are so lively and powerful where the affections of the heart have not been dissipated by the causes which operate in civilized society!

These northern people were distinguished by tall statures, blue eyes, red hair and beards; they were indefatigable in war, but indolent in sedentary labors; they endured hunger more patiently than thirst, and cold than the heat of the meridian sun. They disdained towns as the refuge of a timorous, and the hiding places of a thievish populace; they burnt them in the countries which they conquered, or

suffered them to fall into decay, and centuries elapsed before they surrounded their villages with walls. Their huts, dispersed like those of the Alpine people, were placed on the banks of rivulets, or near fountains, or in woods, or in the midst of their fields; every farm constituted a distinct centre, round which the herds of the owner wandered, or where, among agricultural tribes, the women and slaves tilled the land. The Germans used very little clothing, for the habit of enduring cold served them in its stead; the hides of beasts, the spoils of the chase, hung from the shoulders of the warriors, and the women wore woollen coats, ornamented with feathers, or with patches of skins which they selected for their splendid and various tints. The use of clothes, which, fitting accurately the different parts of the body, covered the whole of it, was introduced many ages after the times we are treating of, and was looked upon, even then, as a signal corruption of manners. The arms, even of the women, were generally naked, and it was long before the coquette learnt to conceal her sidelong looks under the shelter of a bonnet. Both sexes went with their breasts exposed, and many walked barefoot.

They rose late from their pallets of straw, for the men were accustomed to sit carousing till the depth of night, and after washing themselves they ate their porridge, which was made of roasted corn, put on their arms, and assembled in their public resorts. Their food chiefly consisted of flesh, butter, cheese, and fruits: beer, and the must of fruits, continued to be the beverage of the Suevi, when the borderers of the Rhine became fond of the juice of the grape. At their meals, marriages were proposed, enmities reconciled, and enterprises agreed upon, and when they had discussed these matters with open hearts, on the following day they took them into final consideration. These spirited and courageous men displayed in the company of strangers, and persons of high rank, that bashfulness which arises from the apprehension of being deficient in some particular, or of not appearing altogether in a respectable manner. For the rest, they had that openness of heart, which excludes all dissimulation, and frequently even temperance of character. Hospitality was with them not a virtue, but a dis-

tinction for which the inhabitants of the village contended among themselves; a gift was commonly presented to the guest on his departure from their roof. The manners of more civilized nations have in other respects their advantages; but the Germans were individually better and more valiant, and possessed more robust and finer persons.

The young men were not allowed, before their twentieth year, to pay their addresses to the rustic girls; and then they sought out the most robust, and those of freshest complexion. A horse, an ox, a dart, a sword and shield, were the presents which the youth gave to the future housewife, who united herself to him for all the toils and pleasures of life, and who was to entertain their common children with similar objects. Divorces were not thought of, and violation of the marriage compact was rarely heard of, and was punished severely, as showing the greatest depravity; although it was allowed to the women, after the death of the first husband, to marry a second, the greater number continued through life to cherish the memory of their first affection. The great men were accustomed to marry more than one wife, since more than one clan, or several distinguished families, were desirous of becoming connected with them. The affection of the wife, her constant fidelity, was the chief source of happiness, and the most natural feeling; the women took the care of the whole household; their lives were meritorious, and they were not without influence on the political conduct of the men; the old Velleda, to whom the gods opened the secrets of futurity, was reverently consulted by the nation. The Germans had no domestic servants, for their wives and children supplied that office, but they had slaves who tilled their fields and took care of their flocks, and were rewarded with a part of the produce. The slaves were well treated, lived like their masters, ate with them, were clothed like them, and slept near the herds on beds of straw; but the life of the master was not forfeited by the murder of his slave, because a freeman was considered of far greater value to the nation than a bondsman, and because the act brought with it its own punishment. The slaves

were partly men who had made over the right of their persons to another for the sake of sustenance, and partly captives taken in war.

In fact there existed lords before there were any domains. Among the Suevi of Cæsar, the existence of the latter was impossible, because this pastoral nation had no idea of hereditary possessions, and in the annual division of land the same field never fell to the lot of one owner during two successive years. As little was it allowed that the huts which were carried about should become houses capable of protecting the effeminate inmates against inclement weather. Money and commerce were unknown. The Suevi were anxious for peace and liberty, and concerning all other things they were indifferent. Strabo, Mela, and Tacitus, have described these manners, and there are still vestiges of them among the mountains of the Alps. They had no vineyards, nor any word to signify vintage; for *Herbst*, the German term for autumn, means simply the collecting of fruits; but the wine of Gaul was so grateful to them, that Domitian found it necessary to prohibit the culture of the vine on the frontiers of that country, in order to remove a temptation to warlike aggressions. They cared not for manufactures, but were desirous of enjoying, in indolent ease, the gifts of nature. They were less anxious that their population should be numerous, than that each individual should be content, and should obtain what he wanted with little labor. When the people became too abundant, they sought occasion for wars. These men who were so indefatigable in the field, gave themselves up, when peace was concluded, to tranquil indolence; the morrow passed with them like the yesterday, and the present like the former year; birth, marriage, and death were the only remarkable epochs of their existence.

Their cattle were small but strong, and their cows gave abundance of milk. Those tribes who dwelt upon the amber coast were at first astonished that the foreign merchant set a value on that production of nature. When commerce took its rise among them, they preferred silver to gold, because the pieces were more numerous, and because they could always change them. Old coinage was

most esteemed by them, and they placed no confidence in new money. So the king of Taprobane, when the coinage of different emperors of the early period was shown to him, from the equality of the weight, formed so exalted an opinion of the good faith and justice of the nation, that he sent an embassy to Rome. Arms, horses, and gold chains, for family memorials, were the gifts which they most joyfully received. Racing, wrestling, and throwing stones were their favorite sports; and they were so excessively devoted to the die, that after a man had lost his flocks in the game, he often staked his own person, and by an unlucky fall became a slave.

The bodies of the common people were buried, and those of distinguished persons were burnt at particular places: together with the warrior were interred his arms and his war-horse. Hillocks were thrown over their graves; the public lamentation for them was short, but they were never forgotten by their friends.

We have more laws than the old Germans, who stood not in need of complex and numerous regulations. One might prefer to be a Greek or Roman; to belong to nations who had so manifold, such noble and refined enjoyments; but to what calamities did not these advantages reduce those who possessed them? It was a splendid distinction to be a Dictator—a Cæsar; but it was no mean privilege which Arminius enjoyed, to be the avenger, and afterwards to become the tutelar god of his country. In the simple and independent life of the Germans, the reputation of extensive knowledge gave no great lustre to the name; but fame is but for a few, and happiness is the pursuit of all; when the latter is wanting, the former cannot supply its place; and when a man enjoys his existence, he forgets to seek renown. It was a misfortune for our fathers to find in their conquests many nations who were in every way depraved: among them they acquired more artificial, but not better habits. That ancient liberty, those manners so celebrated by Tacitus, those ever-victorious arms, and afterwards that long and gloomy night of oppression, of superstition, and of crimes, show abundantly how dangerous for a free people is a revolution in their manners and insti-

tutions. The lofty virtues of the ancients are not for every man: few have the genius necessary to effect alterations in the laws of their country, and very few are in circumstances which afford them an opportunity; but it is in the power of every man, at every time, to attain to the virtues which distinguished our forefathers while they dwelt in the German forests, the principal of which was the habit of restraining their desires and wants.

SECTION VIII.

OF THE EARLIEST WARS BETWEEN THE GERMANS AND THE IMPERIAL ARMIES.

Already, in Trajan's time, the Roman statesmen apprehended some calamity on the side of the north, and they esteemed the empire happy in the want of union among the German nations, and in the circumstance that the introduction of manufactures, of wine, and of wants hitherto unknown from the Roman provinces, was effecting a change in the manners of the more remote tribes, while the migration of the Marcomanni and Sicambri had diminished the strength of the barbarians on their nearest frontier. When the Allemanni were no longer able to defend their independence against Hadrian, they penetrated further into the depths of the German forests.

A. D. 162. The first attempt at a powerful invasion happened in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, 275 years after the celebrated migration of the Cimbri. The Allemanni threw themselves upon the territory of the Rhæti; to the westward, the province of the Saone was in commotion; and Marcomir, in the east, made an impression on Pannonia and Noricum. Marcus Aurelius appeased all these disturbances; the circumstances of his wars are unknown to us, but the enemy was deterred by them for a long time from attempting similar invasions.

A. D. 216. The Allemanni were afterwards defeated on the banks of the Maine by Bassianus Caracalla; the wives of the slaughtered warriors, to whom life appeared

contemptible without glory and freedom, slew themselves and their children.

A. D. 235. While the Emperor Alexander was occupied with the Persians on the Euphrates, the Allemanni took arms to revenge their defeat. The Roman monarch led his armies from the Euphrates to the Maine, and speedily granted pardon to the Germans, who sued for peace. Maximinus pursued them into the Hessian marshes; but the next generation, rising with fresh spirit, broke through the fortifications, and invaded at the same time the province of the Saone, the Germania prima, and the territory of the Rhæti: a prodigious swarm, led by their chieftain Crochus, penetrated through the Tyrol into Italy, and seem to have spread themselves as far as Ravenna. A. D. 260. At the same period the celebrated confederacy of the Franks first made its appearance on the theatre of Europe: they passed the Rhine into the Netherlands, traversed Gaul, every where plundering and laying waste the country, crossed the Pyrenees, and sacked the Spanish capital Tarragona. A. D. 250. Shortly before this time the Goths had passed through the Grecian provinces in Europe and Asia.

SECTION IX.

THE GOTHS.

"In the furthest north," says Jornandes, on the authority of ancient sagas and traditionary poems, "a number of hostile tribes dwelt in the country of Scandzia," or Scandinavia: "this region extends itself to the boundary of the habitable globe, where, in the winter, a gloomy night covers the earth with darkness during forty days, and in the summer the sun remains above the horizon for an equal time. The Suethones* dwell nearest to us, who, with swift horses, chase the few wild animals that inhabit their woods, and transmit their valuable skins, through a lun-

* Probably the Swedes.

dred different nations, to us in Italy." Animals which are now only found in Siberia were probably at that time wild in Sweden, as the urus and the rein-deer were at the feet of the Alps. "In this same part of the world dwells the gentle race of Finns; and in the adjoining country the Danes, a nation of huge stature. From this region," continues Jornandes, "came the Goths: they embarked in sufficient number to fill three ships, and landed on the Almerugian coast, (the shore of Pomerania and Mecklenburg,) where they defeated the wandering hordes of Vandals. After five generations, during which they had become very numerous, Filimer led their host, with all the herds belonging to them, out of the northern regions into the countries which are contiguous to the Euxine sea." With a similar tradition Paulus, the son of Warnefrid, chancellor of the last king of the Lombards, commences the history of his people: "Ihor (Igor) and Asio were the leaders of the first emigration, which set out in three divisions; Ambri and Assi were the chiefs of the Vandals, and their country was called Skoningen: the former exacted a tribute from the wanderers, as a rent for the meadows on which they fed their flocks. Afterwards Skoningen was found to be no longer capable of affording them sustenance, and a multitude of people disputing their passage, the champion, on whose success the enemy had pledged their cause, was killed in a single combat by a slave; hereupon the slaves of the army were made free." In like manner Paulus relates their journey through a number of unknown countries, until they arrived at the borders of Poland and Hungary: it was here that his nation, the Lombards, fixed their settlement. It has been shown, in another place, how the traditionary songs of the old Swiss, at Schuytz, Unterwalden in Hasliland, and Oberlændergebürge, agree with the above; so that one saga makes up the deficiencies in the others, and all of them have the same leading traits. It appears probable that, in very ancient times, before the existence of Rome, perhaps anterior to the age of all history, the Gothic race dwelt in the northern regions, whence, according to Bailly's conjecture, many other nations also emigrated. There they wandered to and fro; perhaps, on

one occasion, they followed the god Woden, or a chief who bore his name, far into the depths of the northern wilderness; and at other times, finding it impossible, or having no inclination to fertilize those sterile regions, were conducted by other leaders into the southern countries. Accordingly we find them placed by Pomponius Mela on the Prussian shores. After the battle against the Vandals, they were separated from the Lombards; while the former remained in Prussia, we hear of the latter in the northern part of the territory of Brunswick. The Goths afterwards spread themselves along the plains and steppes of the Ukraine, and further on towards the Don, while the Lombards held their course more to the westward. In their original seats in Scandinavia, the names and other vestiges of the tribes remain; and the inclination for foreign enterprises and adventurous wanderings was kept alive by constantly existing causes, and may be traced down to the twelfth century. It is scarcely possible, in this instance, to take advantage of the only means by which light can be thrown on obscure subjects of this nature, viz. the comparison of dialects; because, from the remote age of which we are treating, very little has reached our times in a tolerably perfect state; and because the higher we go in antiquity, the greater resemblance do we discover between languages. How many Latin roots has Ihre discovered in the idiom of Ulfila? Very little would remain to the Greek, were we to restore to the north and east all that it has derived from these sources: Schloezer finds no greater difference between the old Slavonic of the Russian annals and the old German, than between our High Dutch and the Low Dutch: a multitude of German roots exist in the Persic, possibly introduced by means of the Parthians. From all this it would follow, that it might be possible to decipher the primitive language of the north by the aid of the numerous dialects which are derived from it, but that the peculiar portion which each tribe inherited is too imperfectly known to enable us to ascertain, on sufficient grounds, the degrees of their affinity in such remote times: commerce, religion, local circumstances, migrations, wars, and sciences have produced great modifications in all of them.

It may therefore easily be conceived that the Goths, who in the third century dwelt on the north of the Black Sea and farther on in the provinces of Russia, which the Lettish people still call Gothland, may at one time have had their seats in the more remote north, without our being able to determine with which of the northern races they had the nearest affinity.

The chiefs of the Goths were of the venerable and illustrious family of the Baltes, a name which imports gleaming with light, bold, or enterprising. Power was hereditary among them; land, slaves, and other possessions devolving in the same manner. Yet the nation had, as in the first ages of other European monarchies, a free choice among the princes of this house. The chief was also the supreme director in affairs of religion, who offered up to the heroes, his ancestors, suitable sacrifices, in order that through them he might be animated with the same noble virtues by which they had gained immortality. The Goths, like the Chinese, considered the patriarch of the royal house as a kind of mediator appointed to offer up their prayers to the Supreme Deity, who could only then refuse to hear them when his descendants ceased to display those virtues which were dearer to him than his own progeny. The same chieftain, who was both general and high-priest, performed the duties of a supreme judge. Yet although a single individual, the representative of God among the people, united so many dignities in his own person, still the Goths were free; his whole power depended on their arms; he was every thing through them, and without the consent of the Gothic nation he could neither make laws nor carry on war. This constitution became disorganized when, after their conquests, a part of the nation laid aside the use of arms in order to apply themselves to the arts of peace. From that time the king had only the nobility to fear, and if they agreed with him his power was absolute; when the nobility became degraded, the supreme authority remained almost without any bounds.

Of the Gothic "Wohlbehagen," for so they named their laws, we possess the fewer traces, as the art of writing, the invention of the south, was to them unknown.

It is uncertain whether in Woden they worshipped the spirit of a hero who had conducted his people far from the Roman arms into the northern deserts. The God of the Getæ, the *Gradivus Pater, Geticis qui præsidet arvis*, was propitiated by human victims to bestow victory on his people, and probably the Getæ were originally of the same stock with the Goths. The latter, when they went to battle, chanted songs of praise in honor of Widigan, Fridigern, Ethesbamer, and other ancient heroes. Such songs were purely historical, for it was thought arrogant to adorn them.

About the time of the Emperor Decius, this nation excited commotions in the vicinity of the Black Sea. They passed over and burnt Cyzicus, Chalcedon, and Ephesus. Crossing the Danube they traversed Greece, plundered Athens, and made the islands of the Ægean Sea tremble. It appears that the possession of the Tauric peninsula, or Crim Tartary, gave the Goths this preponderance; it is the key of the neighboring seas and coasts, and its chieftains, well acquainted with the navigation of the Euxine, are enabled to make hostile attacks with greater advantage than they can be assailed in their own quarters from without. The excellent Emperor Decius fell by the arms of the Goths or perished in a morass, upon which Gallus concluded a treaty of peace so ignominious that he was on that account judged to be unworthy of the throne. Rome only survived by the immense disproportion of her internal strength. Claudius and Aurelian revenged the glory of the empire; they drove the Allemanni out of Italy and beyond the mountains to the river Lech, and obliged the Goths to conclude a secure treaty, according to which the farther Dacia was given up to them, and their most valiant youth were taken into the military service of the Romans. It was hoped that their warlike genius might thus be sufficiently employed, but they became more formidable by learning the tactics of disciplined armies, and thus rendered themselves the masters of many northern hordes. "Often," says the historian, "the Vandals were vanquished by their arms: the Marcomanni became tributary to them; the Quadi served in their ranks, and they

overcame the Gepidi." It appears that in the middle of the fourth century Poland and the western provinces of European Russia, as far as the Esthonian and Livonian coasts, acknowledged more or less the laws of this powerful nation. With the Heruli, who then possessed the territory of Brandenburg, the Goths carried on more frequent wars; the armies of the former, consisting chiefly of light troops, were adapted to petty warfare, and able to skirmish in a hasty flight; the Gothic order of battle was firm and close; their assault was tremendous, their resistance always powerful, and their arms finally victorious.

The Goths were distinguished by a certain soundness of understanding and humanity of disposition which rendered their simple manners more susceptible of true civilization than those of the wild and ferocious nations who chiefly subsisted by the chase.

SECTION X.

ALTERATIONS IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Scarcely was the death of Aurelian known, when the Allemanni, probably in conjunction with other tribes, and strengthened especially by the assistance of the Franks, overspread with myriads of barbarians the territory of Gaul, and gained seventy cities by the terror of their arms. Probus indeed came to the succor of the empire with all the virtues of the ancient warriors; he pursued the Germans over the Rhine and across the Neckar, and forced them to give hostages and a tribute; their youth were enlisted into the legions, and Gaul, now secured by his arms and by those fortifications of which we yet trace the magnificent remains in Franconia and Swabia, again cultivated her fields and vineyards; but this warrior was assassinated too soon for the completion of his great plan of fortification for the frontiers. Rage, aggravated by their late misfortunes, or some internal movements unknown to us, who are only

acquainted with the Roman confines, excited many tribes, soon after his death, to repeat their perilous enterprises.

While the oppression of greedy and tyrannical governors forced the peasants of Gaul to seditious combinations, the whole Rhætian territory, from the Danube to the borders of Italy, was overrun by the Allemanni: the Rhenish provinces of Gaul were laid waste by the same barbarians, while Saxon adventurers by sea plundered the Gallic shores of the Atlantic; and the Franks, sailing through the straits of Hercules, gained possession of Syracuse. The whole north seemed roused to one simultaneous movement. A king of the Gepidi, probably encroached upon by the Goths, had expelled the Burgundians from the banks of the Vistula. This nation, as distinguished for their love of freedom and susceptibility of the best culture, as by their gigantic form and stature, had arrived on the Saale, and their alliance seemed to be courted by the Romans. But the Burgundians were too subtle to mistake the scheme by which it was intended to weaken the Allemanni and themselves by reciprocal injuries, and they found it expedient to form an amicable combination with the latter. The Heruli came further southwards; the Chabiones and other unknown nations were now heard of for the first time. While the empire was thus disturbed by invasions of its frontiers, and by hostile aggressions from the coasts, Britain revolted under the government of Carausius.

During this imminent danger the Emperor Diocletian found it necessary to introduce new forms of government. From the era of the expulsion of Tarquin, the people of Rome had possessed the supreme power in the city, and through the empire, during four hundred and sixty-five years; during that time each private citizen had received the adulation of the great. From the dictature of Julius Cæsar, the armies had ruled with a decided preponderance; but the senate still enjoyed the shadow of a legislative and supreme authority; this was ever on the decline; it diminished insensibly under Trajan, and his three excellent successors, but with ominous threatenings of future ruin. When emperors who despised all civil forms had degraded

the senate, and allowed every license to the legions, the latter soon became more dangerous to their leaders than to their enemies, and disorder, together with weakness, appeared on every side. Diocletian, a soldier from Dalmatia, a ruler of great ability, shared his imperial rank with his friend Maximianus Herculius, to whose rude and active spirit he confided the defence of the western countries, while he remained himself in Asia. Moreover, in order to deprive seditious pretenders of all hopes of the throne, Galerius and Constantius Chlorus, under the title of Cæsars, were publicly declared by Diocletian and his colleague successors to the imperial power. Galerius was a man of ignoble birth, and uncultivated manners, but brave and honest; the other was a benevolent and enlightened man, and became a successful imitator of the virtues of his great uncle Claudius.

The Cæsars were sent to the frontiers, that they might merit the high distinction for which they were destined; and the emperors, particularly Diocletian, occupied themselves with internal affairs. Diocletian surrounded the majesty of the throne with an imposing pomp; he assumed the tiara and other insignia of eastern monarchs, and exacted from all who approached him the token of adoration. Formerly the emperors had worn a simple robe of purple, without gold or precious stones, and were usually accosted like other senators; the alteration of costume was made with solemnity, and by both the sovereigns on the same day. Rome, the mistress of the world, ceased to be the seat of government, and was visited only once in twenty years by Diocletian; who made Nicomedia his chief residence, while Maximianus held his court at Milan.

It seemed probable that the division of power would facilitate its maintenance, and that the ambition of the great might henceforward be held in subjection: an abode in the neighborhood of the Goths and Allemanni seemed more conducive to the conservation of military virtues than the corrupt life of the metropolis; in fact, the Goths were restrained from further aggressions, and the Allemanni were defeated at Langres and near Windisch, in Helvetia. Brit-

ain was reduced to obedience, and Persia was forced to consent to a peace favorable to Rome; but it required no great knowledge of human nature to foresee that two or four sovereigns would not be for ever unanimous; and that the two Cæsars would not always wait with patience for the vacation of the highest dignity. The provinces, exhausted by devastations or bad government, saw already, during the life of Diocletian, civil or rather internal wars break out, barbarians invited into the empire by pretenders to the throne, in order to assist them against their rivals, and new and more detested modes of crime succeed in the place of former atrocities.

Yet Diocletian enjoyed with his colleague, to the twentieth year of his reign, that repose which the exhausted state of factions, and the military talents of the two Cæsars afforded him; until at length he laid down his authority, induced by the premature failure of his faculties, or as some, with less probability, suppose, by the impatience of the Cæsar Galerius. Maximian followed his example unwillingly, and only by the compulsion of circumstances. Constantine was hereupon advanced by his father Constantius, and Severus by Galerius, to the rank of Cæsars.

Constantius shortly afterwards terminated his benevolent reign and illustrious life. Galerius soon incurred the hatred of the Romans, by attempting to burden them with an impost; and Maximian availed himself of this discontent in order to reduce Italy under the sway of his son Maxentius, in consequence of which Severus was entirely stripped of his power. Maxentius undertook the government under the direction of his father. In the mean time the young Constantine gained the hearts of the British and Gallic legions, and forced both Galerius and Maximian to acknowledge him as a colleague in the imperial dignity. Maximian, not content with governing under the name of his son, caused a proposal to be made to Diocletian, to resume the sovereign power; the latter showed the messengers who bore the commission to him, the beautiful gardens near Salona, in which he enjoyed and was resolved still to enjoy the pleasures of a splendid and tranquil retirement. At this time Maxentius became intolerable to the Romans;

his guard was his only protection; he abandoned himself to excessive debauchery, and was the terror of all the opulent citizens. The nobles fled from the city in crowds, while amidst the general confusion even agriculture was neglected, and the old Maximian was obliged to take refuge under the protection of Constantine, who had married his daughter, from the violence of the youthful tyrant. But his own character was not less depraved than that of his son, and he soon formed projects against his son-in-law, who had afforded him an asylum; in consequence of which Constantine, to avoid becoming his victim, put an end to his restless career, but allowed him to choose the manner of his death. Constantine marched soon afterwards, invited by the great men of Rome, against Maxentius, and defeated him near the metropolis, in a battle which cost the latter his life. The whole empire in the west thus fell into the hands of Constantine.

In the east Galerius was dead: Maximinus Daza, his nephew, immoderate in wine and sensual pleasures, but at the same time eager for knowledge, had fallen by a speedy death. Constantine now formed an alliance with Licinius, a soldier, who, for his merits in warfare, had been honored with the friendship of Galerius, and raised at length to the dignity of Cæsar. They divided the empire between them, and named their sons, Crispus and Licinianus, their successors, with the same title which they had enjoyed. About this time the old Diocletian died, as it is reported, by his own hand, indignant because the new emperors had expressed themselves ungraciously towards him, on account of his absence from the marriage-feast of Licinius.

At this conjuncture the emperors put an end to the persecution of the Christians, which had been commenced ten years before by Diocletian and his colleague. Constantine found it a wise measure to conciliate the millions in his empire, who were the intrepid worshippers of Jesus. After many years, towards the close of his life, he caused himself to be baptized. It seems probable that he was induced to delay this rite so long from a reluctance to abandon certain forbidden ceremonies, for which the severity of the church rendered it very difficult for those who had received

baptism to obtain absolution; but he acknowledged his conversion to Christianity, and published two edicts, one of which granted to Christians the use of the temples of the gods, in places where convenient churches were wanting; and the other gave them the preference in elections to all offices of dignity, both civil and military. In the course of about seventy years from that time, the Christian faith had become the prevailing religion of the empire.

The throne of the Cæsars has fallen: Greeks and Romans are no more; but Christianity exerts its influence on our age and on all future times. It is here that some account of the old religions of the world, and of the origin of the Christian faith and of the church, will find its natural place.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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